



University of Pennsylvania  
**ScholarlyCommons**

---

Dropsie College Theses

Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate  
Learning


---

Spring 4-23-1947

## The Peshitta to Nehemiah, A Textual-Critical Analysis

R. Laird Harris

Follow this and additional works at: <https://repository.upenn.edu/dropsietheses>

 Part of the [Comparative Literature Commons](#), [Jewish Studies Commons](#), [Near Eastern Languages and Societies Commons](#), and the [Religion Commons](#)

---

Library at the Katz Center - Archives Room Manuscript. BS1365 .H377 1947 c.1-2.

This paper is posted at ScholarlyCommons. <https://repository.upenn.edu/dropsietheses/118>  
For more information, please contact [repository@pobox.upenn.edu](mailto:repository@pobox.upenn.edu).

---

## The Peshitta to Nehemiah, A Textual-Critical Analysis

### Abstract

It is agreed by those who have worked on the subject, that the study of the old Syriac translation of the Bible known as the Peshitta has not by any means been exhausted. Numbers of studies of great value have naturally appeared, especially in the years from 1890 to 1910, but two large gaps in Peshitta studies remain to be filled. The first lacuna felt by all who deal with this version is the lack of a critical text. Indeed a text of any kind can not easily be secured.<sup>1</sup>

Some steps have been taken by different scholars toward filling this long-felt need.<sup>2</sup> The first effort at collation of various texts was by Herbert Thorndike in Vol. VI of the London Polyglot of 1657. He cites only three authorities for Nehemiah, and his collations, though helpful, are in no sense an answer to the need. Many more manuscripts are available to us than Thorndike had at hand and the principles for their use are far better understood

### Degree Type

Dissertation

### Degree Name

Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)

### First Advisor

Joseph Reider

### Subject Categories

Comparative Literature | Jewish Studies | Near Eastern Languages and Societies | Religion

### Comments

Library at the Katz Center - Archives Room Manuscript. BS1365 .H377 1947 c.1-2.

---

THE PESHITTA TO NEHEMIAH,

A TEXTUAL-CRITICAL ANALYSIS.

This dissertation, entitled

THE PESHITTA TO NEHEMIAH,

A TEXTUAL-CRITICAL ANALYSIS

R. Laird Harris

by

R. LAIRD HARRIS

Candidate for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

has been read and approved by

A Thesis Submitted March 25, 1947

in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in  
the Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate  
Learning

*John L. Mass*  
*Cooper*  
Philadelphia  
1947

Date April 23 1947



A P P R O V A L

THE PESHITTA TO NEHEMIAH,  
A TEXTUAL-CRITICAL ANALYSIS

by

R. LAIRD HARRIS

Candidate for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

has been read and approved by

Joseph Reider

Samuel L. Gross

Cyrus V. Gordon

Date April 23 1947



## Preface

The interest of the author was first turned in the direction of the textual criticism of the Old Testament in his days as a student at Westminster Theological Seminary where also he began the study of Syriac under Dr. Allan A. MacRae. His interest was further sharpened and basic principles of the art were given him in courses at the University of Pennsylvania under Dr. Ephraim A. Speiser. To both of the above men and institutions, the author is happy to acknowledge his great obligation. It was Dr. Joseph ~~Re~~ Reider of the Dropsie College, however, who directed the author's particular interest to the Peshitta as an important witness to the Old Testament text- a witness which has been considerably neglected. It is a pleasure to express sincere thanks to Dr. Reider for his encouragement and direction in this thesis and for the very valuable assistance given in the planning and also in the details of the work. Further thanks are due to him for his great patience with the author during many hours of conference during the progress of the thesis. Indeed the author greatly appreciates the kind cooperation and encouragement of all those of the Faculty of the Dropsie College in making available to him its excellent facilities for research.

A word should be said by way of apology for the appearance of the thesis. A Hammond typewriter was used which has interchangeable type faces for English, Greek, and Hebrew. No type face for Syriac is now available. These machines are no longer manufactured, their patents being taken over by the Coxhead Vari-Typer Company. They

have the advantage of writing the different languages, but they have disadvantages also. The keyboard is not quite standard. A thin paper must be used even to secure one carbon. As a result mistakes are frequent and corrections not always neat. It is hoped that the advantage of having the Hebrew properly typed in, will overbalance the rather obvious disadvantages of the typewriter.

Chapter II. The Text Used as a Basis for the Present Study	14
The printed editions, 14	
The relation of Loe's edition and Codex Ambrosianus, 16	
Chapter III. The Transmission of the Text. Apart from Names	23
Inner Syriac errors, 23	
Additions due to copyists, 27	
Omissions due to copyists, 29	
Chapter IV. The Names in Hebrewish	31
I. Variations from the Massoretic Text due to copyists' errors, 32	
A. Mistakes of the Eye, 32	
The Variation of Hesh/Daleth (p. 32); Yodh/Nun (34);	
Yodh/Heh; Nun/Heh, or Heth/Nun-Yodh (35);	
Beth/Nun (36); Miscellaneous (38).	
B. Slips of the Pen, 41	
Metathesis (41); Letters omitted (42); Letters	
added (43).	
C. Mistakes of Speech, 44	
Daleth/Zayin (44); Beth/Pe (46); Beth/Vav (46);	
Beth/Ayin (47).	
D. Mistakes of the Memory, 48	
Freedom of use of the Divine elements (48).	
II. Variations from the Massoretic Text due to translators, 51	
A. Errors of the Eye, 51	
Peah/Daleth (51); Caph/Beth (53); Nun/Zayin (55).	
B. Variations due to Dialectic and Linguistic Causes, 56	
The prothetic Aleph (56); The sibilants (57);	
Consonants varying according to phonetic law (58);	
Miscellaneous confusion of similar sounding	
consonants (58); Treatment of final Nun (60);	
Miscellaneous Syriacisms of names (61).	
C. Variations due to erroneous translations of names, 62	
The Consonants Beth-Nun-Yodh (62); Gilla names (63);	
Miscellaneous instances (65).	



# CONTENTS

List of References Cited with Abbreviations Used	Page vi
Chapter I. Introduction	1
Critical editions of individual Biblical Books, p.1	
Individual Indexes of Books, 4	
Date and authorship of the Peshitta, 7	
Septuagint influence on the Peshitta, 9	
The Peshitta and the Targums, 11	
Chapter II. The Text Used as a Basis for the Present Study	14
The printed editions, 14	
The relation of Lee's edition and Codex Ambrosianus, 16	
Chapter III. The Transmission of the Text, Apart from Names	23
Inner Syriac errors, 23	
Additions due to copyists, 27	
Omissions due to copyists, 29	
Chapter IV. The Names in Nehemiah	31
I. Variations from the Massoretic Text due to copyists' errors, 32	
A. Mistakes of the Eye, 32	
The Variation of Resh/Daleth (p.32); Yodh/Nun (34);	
Yodh/Heth, Nun/Heth, or Heth/Nun-Yodh (35);	
Beth/Nun (38); Miscellaneous (38).	
B. Slips of the Pen, 41	
Metathesis (41); Letters omitted (42); Letters	
added (43).	
C. Mistakes of Speech, 44	
Daleth/Zayin (44); Beth/Pe (46); Beth/Mem (46);	
Beth/Ayin (47).	
D. Mistakes of the Memory, 48	
Freedom of use of the Divine elements (48).	
II. Variations from the Massoretic Text due to translators, 51	
A. Errors of the Eye, 51	
Pesh/Daleth (51); Caph/Beth (53); Nun/Zayin (55).	
B. Variations due to Dialectic and Linguistic Causes, 56	
The prosthetic Aleph (56); The sibilants (57);	
Consonants varying according to phonetic law (58);	
Miscellaneous confusion of similar sounding	
consonants (58); Treatment of final Nun (60);	
Miscellaneous Syricizing of names (61).	
C. Variations due to erroneous translations of names, 61	
The Consonants Beth-Nun-Yodh (62); Guild names (63);	
Miscellaneous instances (65).	



Chapter IX. Conclusion

См. также: - Неидея, Курс лекций по аналитической грамматике.



# List of Abbreviations used and References Cited

- MT The Massoretic Text, Kittel-Kahle edition.
- L The Syriac Old Testament, edited by Samuel Lee.
- A The Codex Ambrosianus, photolithographed edition by Ceriani.  
(For convenience of reference, the versification of Lee's edition, which is approximately that of the Septuagint, has been followed. It never differs from MT by more than a verse except in Chap. 4 where the numbers of Lee's verses are six more than those of MT, sent because in Lee Chapter 3 has only 32 verses)
- LXX H. B. Swete, The Old Testament in Greek. Any variations from the text of Swete found in his apparatus have been cited as G<sup>A</sup>, etc. occasionally Lagarde's edition has been cited as G<sup>L</sup>.
- AJSL The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature.
- BASOR The Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research.
- BDB Brown, Driver, and Briggs, Hebrew and English Lexicon.
- JAOS Journal of the American Oriental Society.
- JTS Journal of Theological Studies.
- ZAW Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.
- Annual Burrows, Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research, No. XIV.
- Chronicles - W. E. Barnes, Apparatus Criticus to Chronicles in the Peshitta Version.
- Psalter - W. E. Barnes, The Peshitta Psalter According to the West Syrian Text, edited with an Apparatus Criticus.
- Ezechiel - Cornill, Das Buch des Propheten Ezechiel.
- Syr. Gram. - Nöldeke, Kurzgefasste syrische Grammatik.

## Other References Cited:

- Barnes - Book Review of Haefeli Die Peshitta des alten Testamentes  
JTS 29(1938)330  
- "On the Influence of the Septuagint on the Peshitta", JTS 2(1901)197.
- Baumann - "Die Verwendbarkeit der Peschita zum Buche Jjob für die Textkritik",  
ZAW 17(1898)505ff., 19(1900) 15ff.
- Bloch - "The Printed Texts of the Peshitta Old Testament" AJSL 37(1921)136ff.



- Burkitt - Review of Peshitta Psalter JTS 6 (1905) 258.
- Burrows - "Nehemiah's Tour of Inspection" BASOR No. 64 (1936)
- Cowley - Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C. (Oxford, 1923)
- Diettrich - Ein Apparatus Criticus zur Peschitta zum Propheten Jesaja, Beihefte VIII, ZAW (1905).
- Driver - Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel (2nd ed. Oxford 1923).
- Haeffeli - Die Peschitta des alten Testaments XI Band. 1 Heft alttestamentliche Abhandlungen.
- Hawley - A Critical Examination of the Peshitta Version of the Book of Ezra.
- Heller - Untersuchung über die Peschitta zur gesamten Hebraischen Bibel (Berlin, 1911).
- Lazarus - Zur syrischen Uebersetzung des Buches der Richter (Erlangen 1901).
- Montgomery - Review of Hawley, A Critical Examination etc. JAOS 43(1923)432f.
- Nestle - Protestantische Realencyclopädie (3rd ed.) III, 170ff.
- Nöldeke - Die alttestamentliche Literatur (Leipzig, 1868).
- Noth - Die israelitischen Personennamen (Stuttgart, 1928).
- Perles - Analekten zur Textkritik des alten Testaments.
- Pinkerton - "The Origin and Early History of the Syriac Pentateuch" JTS, 15(1914)14f
- Pinkuss - Die syrische Uebersetzung der Proverbien.
- Rahlf's - "Beiträge zur Textkritik der Peschitta" ZAW 9(1889)161ff.
- Rosenwasser - Der lexicalische Stoff der Königsbücher der Peschitta. (Berlin 1905)
- Schonfelder - Onkelos und Peschitto (Munich 1869).
- Siegfried - Esra, Nehemia, und Esther Handkommentar.
- Teichen - Syrisch-hebraisches Glossar zur den Psalmen nach der Peschitta. ZAW (1897) 129ff and 280ff.
- Weigle - Introduction to the Revised Standard Version of the New Testament.
- Wellhausen - Göttingen Gelehrte Anzeigen. (1899) No. 8.
- Wright - A Short History of Syriac Literature.



It is agreed by those who have worked on the subject, that the study of the old Syriac translation of the Bible known as the Peshitta has not by any means been exhausted. Numbers of studies of great value have naturally appeared, especially in the years from 1890 to 1910, but two large gaps in Peshitta studies remain to be filled. The first lacuna as felt by all who deal with this version is the lack of a critical text.

Indeed a text of any kind can not easily be secured.<sup>1</sup> Some steps have been taken by different scholars toward filling this long-felt need.<sup>2</sup> The first effort at collation of various texts was by Herbert Thorndike in Vol. VI of the London Polyglot of 1657. He cites only three authorities for Nehemiah, and his collations, though helpful, are in no sense an answer to the need. Many more manuscripts are available to us than Thorndike had at hand and the principles for their use are far better understood.

W.E. Barnes in 1897 published his Apparatus Criticus to Chronicles in the Peshitta Version. This book is not a critical edition, but was an important step in that direction as 17 manuscripts were collated and principles were suggested which should be followed in preparing a critical

character of an early type of text which he claims to have isolated.  
(1) The writer was informed in the fall of 1944 by the publishers that the most common edition - that by Samuel Lee - is out of print. Second hand copies of this or of the London Polyglot are quite scarce.  
(2) Haefeli in Die Peshitta des alten Testaments, p.2, has collected some remarks by Nestle in 1897, Duval in 1907, and Barnes in 1897 speaking of the need of a critical text and the possibilities of having one.

(3) He had desired "to construct on the certified evidence of Eastern and Western authorities a text which would prove to be older than the division between the Eastern and Western texts." (p. xiv).  
(4) "Ein apparatus criticus zur Peshitta zum Propheten Jesaja", Beiblische Zeitschrift 7/7, (1905).  
(5) JTS 7 (1906) 403  
(6) "The Origin and Early History of the Syriac Pentateuch" JTS 15 (1914) 146.



It was followed in 1907 by his Peshitta Psalter according to the West Syrian Text, edited with an apparatus criticus. It was Barnes' purpose in preparing this book to present a truly critical edition,<sup>3</sup> but he felt after three years of work that in the then status of Peshitta studies this could not be done satisfactorily. He presented instead a resultant Western text with additional Eastern readings. If his scepticism was fully justified, we may question whether we today are in a much better position to produce a critical edition. He collated 19 manuscripts for this work, 16 of which contained only the Psalter and miscellaneous hymns. The church fathers, printed editions, and collections of Syriac Massora were also fully utilized.

In 1905 G. Diettrich published a critical apparatus to Isaiah<sup>4</sup> which carried forward the work of collecting materials for a critical text of the whole version. Barnes in a review of Diettrich's work calls it a "complete and final textual critical apparatus to Isaiah."<sup>5</sup>

Considerable collating of material on Genesis and Exodus was done by Pinkerton,<sup>6</sup> but a complete critical apparatus was not prepared. All the manuscripts of Gen. and Ex. prior to the 10th century (10 in number) were collated and certain conclusions drawn with regard to the Jewish character of an early type of text which he claims to have isolated.

These are, it seems, the only critical apparatus to the Peshitta so far prepared, but mention should be made of Leo Haefeli's study already

(3) He had desired "to construct on the combined evidence of Eastern and Western authorities a text which would prove to be older than the division between the Eastern and Western texts." (p.xlv).

(4) "Ein apparatus criticus zur Peschitta zum Propheten Jesaia", Beihefte VIII of the ZAW, (1905).

(5) JTS 7 (1906) 465

(6) "The Origin and Early History of the Syriac Pentateuch" JTS 15(1914) 14ff.



referred to: Die Peschitta als altes Testament mit Rücksicht auf ihre textkritische Bearbeitung und Herausgabe, which appeared as VI Band, 1 Heft of the Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen in 1927. It is presented as a "Prolegomena to a textual critical edition of the Peshitta to be prepared," and gives an extremely helpful general introduction into Peshitta study. Barnes in a review refers to it as an "indispensable" brochure "especially strong on the side of Bibliography."

Doubtless the preparation of a critical edition of the Peshitta will be long delayed. Barnes says of his work on the Psalter, "I have spent a considerable part of my best working time during the past seven years on the task." Nevertheless it seems that as far as the material is concerned, it should not be too difficult to make at least a complete collation without the great labor necessary for the preparation of such a work on the Septuagint or New Testament where thousands of manuscripts and other witnesses are involved. There are only some 20 important Peshitta manuscripts of the whole Old Testament mentioned by Haefeli and Barnes, and of them 8 or more are apparently late daughter manuscripts of one or two of the more important exemplars. These authors list, in addition, two Pentateuch manuscripts. One of these has the special interest of being dated in "the year of the Greeks 775" - therefore 464 - and thus being the oldest dated Biblical manuscript known. Then they mention as being significant 8 more manuscripts on all or several

(7) op.cit. p. 3 "Prolegomena zu einer zu herstellenden textkritischen Ausgabe der Peschitta."

(8) JTS 29 (1928) 330.

(9) Peshitta Psalter, Preface, p. vii.

(10) op.cit. in a section "Die Handschriften der Peschitta." pp. 74-86.

(11) Chronicles p. xxxii, ff. and Peshitta Psalter pp. ix-xxiv.

(12) Barnes in Chronicles p. vii describes the later Jacobite manuscripts "either as poor relations (if not descendants) of the Buchanan Bible, or as transcripts of the Florentine Ms., or as partly one partly the other."

(13) Brit. Mus. Add. 14425.



of the prophetic books and about 17 were on individual books, chiefly the Psalter.<sup>14</sup> Other textual witnesses such as citations from the church fathers, printed editions, and collections of Syriac Massora are few in number. It would seem that a complete critical apparatus would be not too large an undertaking for a group of scholars with the necessary resources for such a work. Much of the work would have to be done in England and Italy. It is to be hoped that the manuscript treasures of Berlin, London, Cambridge, and Milan have escaped the ravages of war with those which are probably safe in Paris and the Vatican.<sup>15</sup>

The second unfinished task for students of the Peshitta is the preparation of a Syriac-Hebrew index. The need was expressed by Wellhausen in 1899<sup>16</sup> and a few indexes to individual books have been prepared.

In 1897, E. Techen published the first such index entitled "Syrisch-Hebräisches Glossar zu den Psalmen nach der Peschitta."<sup>17</sup> Unfortunately Barnes' critical edition of the Psalter was not yet done. Techen used the Codex Ambrosianus as a basis for his index with references also to Dathe's reprint of the Psalter of Erpenius.

In 1901 Arnold Lazarus prepared a similar index for the Book of Judges as his doctoral dissertation for the University of Erlangen.<sup>18</sup>

(14) Barnes in Peshitta Psalter, p. xliv, mentions 51 Psalter Mss. in the British Museum, 13 of which are fragments. He only regarded 15 Mss. as important. In the Cambridge Univ. Library are 6 Psalters only one of which he regards as worthy of regular citation.

(15) It may be of interest to list here the major manuscripts:

Codex Ambrosianus (B 21 inf.) Milan, 6th Cent.

Florentine Codex (Laurent. Or. 58) Florence, 9th Cent.

Buchanan Bible (Univ. O. O. I. 1, 2) Cambridge, 12th Cent.

Vat. Syr. 259. Rome, after 11th Cent. (Cf. Barnes Chronicles p. xxiv on date)

Brit. Mus. Add. 14425. London, dated 1464 (Gen. Ex. Num. & Dt. only).

Sachau 90. Berlin, dated 1654/55 (contains only Chron. Ezr. Neh. & Est. of the canonical books, but has an important type of text).

(16) Göttingen Gelehrte Anzeigen, (1899) No. 3.

(17) ZAW 17 (1897) p. 129ff. and 230ff.

(18) Zur syrischen Uebersetzung des Buches der Richter. (Erlangen, 1901).



After a very brief introduction he gives a collation of the London Polyglot, Lee's edition, Codex Ambrosianus, the Urmia edition, and the Mosul edition. He uses Lee's text as a basis for his index, but cites important variants of the other witnesses. His index is complete except for about 40 of the most common words such as *he, u, he*, some common pronouns, the more frequent prepositions, etc.

In his discussion he seems to give too much weight to the value of the Mosul edition and too little to Codex A. As to the Mosul edition he argues that it is important where it departs from the Urmia edition<sup>19</sup> but does not follow MT literally. He finds in Judges, fifty-five cases of such departure from the Urmia edition, forty-five of which show agreement with MT. (Especially striking is Jud. 20:20 where the Mosul edition reproduces MT literally against all other witnesses.) The remaining 12 cases he discusses as significant. He does not consider, however, the possible influence of the Vulgate on these other 12 cases and the editor of the Mosul edition expressly says that he used the Vulgate along with other witnesses, according to the testimony of Bloch.<sup>20</sup> It would seem to be safer not to base much on so eclectic a text as the Mosul edition is admitted to be.

As to Codex A, Lazarus argues for a dependence of this witness on MT because it makes a paragraph break after Jud. 13:1, marking it with a double plus sign, and this break coincides with a minor break in this place in MT, marked with a Samech. He points out that a break here is against the sense and therefore the wrong division common to Codex A and MT argues that "the writer of A had an exemplar of MT before him."<sup>21</sup>

(19) See p. 15 f for discussion of the printed editions.

(20) Cited on p. 16

(21) "Der Schreiber von A ein Exemplar von MT vor sich gehabt habe." p. 7.



it would seem that this evidence is too slight to overthrow the conclusions of all the later investigators that A is independent of MT. There are doubtless other explanations of the coincidence.

In 1905 H. Emil Rosenwasser presented such an index to the two Books of Kings as his doctoral dissertation at Bern.<sup>22</sup> Rosenwasser used as a text the Codex Ambrosianus with comparison of readings of the London Polyglot, Lee's edition, Thorndike's variations, the Urma edition, the Mosul edition and the scholia of Bar Hebraeus.

Further studies have been prepared, but not as yet published. In 1935 Dr. Frank Zimmermann prepared an index on the Book of Job as a part of his doctoral dissertation at the Dropsie College. He also used Codex Ambrosianus as a basis. Rabbi Felix Freifelder is engaged in preparing for the Dropsie College such an index to the Book of Jeremiah. The thesis presented herewith is based on a similar index for the Book of Nehemiah. A further index to the Book of II Samuel is being prepared by a fellow student at the Dropsie College, Rev. Donald Englert.

Although no other indexes to Old Testament books seem to have been prepared, there is one in the New Testament field that should be mentioned: O. Klein has published a "Syrisch-griechisches Wörterbuch zu den vier kanonischen Evangelien" as Beihefte XVIII of the ZAW, (1916).

The critical study of the Peshitta text of Nehemiah here presented also fills a small but definite gap. The Peshitta can not be considered as a uniform version. From studies made so far, it appears that it was the product of different authors for the different books of the Bible working with different principles in mind. The characteristics of individual books must therefore be learned by studying them one by one.

Even the date of the Peshitta is obscure. The time of the translation has been much discussed, and most will agree with

(22) Der lexikalische Stoff der Königsbücher der Peshitta (Berlin 1905).



might seem to be the work of different hands extending over a considerable period of time." Burkitt argues for quite an early date. In a review of Barnes' book Peshitta Psalter,<sup>24</sup> he remarks that the witness of Aphraates (fl. 345) which, he complains, is not sufficiently emphasized by Barnes, is important for the "general attestation which the earliest surviving Syriac author gives to the Old Testament Peshitta as a whole. The fact is of very great historical importance, for it brings a direct external evidence for the Syriac Psalter, practically as we know it almost into the ante-Nicene age. Whatever Rabbula may have done to the New Testament it is evident that he left the Old Testament alone." He alludes to the remark of Barnes<sup>25</sup> that Septuagint influence in the Peshitta is "sporadic" and declares: "surely all this points to an authoritative revision, made to accommodate the Syriac here and there to the Greek..... So far as our scanty historical authorities allow us to see, Palut<sup>26</sup> founded (or refounded) the Catholic Church in Edessa about the year 200 A.D. At the time of Palut's mission a translation of the Old Testament from the original Hebrew into Syriac was in existence for its influence is visible even in the earliest Syriac versions of the Gospels. But it seems to be the work of a Jewish or Jewish-Christian school.... This Old Testament Peshitta of which we have now in Dr. Barnes' Psalter a well edited specimen, represents a slightly revised form of an original translation from the translation from the Hebrew. The original translation can hardly be later than the middle of the 2nd century A.D.; while the revision which is well the oldest of all Christian Hebrew translations from the Hebrew Scriptures (Test. 373) is the result of a much later and more recent work."

(23) A Short History of Syriac Literature.  
 (24) JTS 6(1905) 286.  
 (25) JTS 2(1901) 197.  
 (26) Die alttestamentliche Literatur (Leipzig 1888) p. 264. "Die Peshitta ist wohl die älteste aller christlichen Hebrew translations from the Hebrew Scriptures (Test. 373) ist die Frucht eines sehr alten Werks."

(27) Die Ursprung und Early History of the Syriac Peshitta JTS 15(1914) 1-11.  
 (28) "Die Verwendbarkeit der Peshitta zur Hebrew Textkritik" ZATW 17 (1888) 305ff. and 19(1900) 1-11.



seems to have taken the form of eclectic accommodation to the Septuagint, may be dated with some confidence to about the end of the 2nd century." Nöldeke likewise testifies to its age:<sup>26</sup> "The Peshitta is probably the oldest of all Christian Versions....For St. Ephraim (d.373) the Peshitta is already an old work. The reception by all Syrian sects, which otherwise hated one another so bitterly, speaks also for its great age, and further, its above-mentioned relation to Jewish tradition." Wright says:<sup>27</sup> "...not improbably a monument of the learning and zeal of the Christians of Edessa. Possibly Jewish converts, or even Jews took part in it." All will not agree that it was of Christian authorship. Pinkerton in an analysis of the text of Genesis and Exodus<sup>28</sup> concludes "The Syriac version of the Pentateuch was made by a Jew (or Jews) for the use of Jews, its chief characteristic being faithfulness to the Hebrew original. The Christian Church took over this version, and acting in accordance with exegetical principles current at the time, as well as with the genius of the language, it gradually amplified and improved the style of the original translation." Perhaps Pinkerton concludes more than his evidence allows, but in general he agrees with the observation of Burkitt that the earliest form of the text of the Peshitta was a more literal translation. This translation was then modified or revised resulting in a freer recension including more Septuagint influence. Baumann in his study on Job<sup>29</sup> concludes

-----  
 (26) Die alttestamentliche Literatur (Leipzig 1868) p.264: "Die Peschitta

ist wohl die älteste aller christlichen Bibelübersetzungen ... Für den heiligen Ephraim (gest. 373) ist die Peschitta denn auch schon ein altes Werk. Für ein hohes Alter spricht auch die Reception bei allen syrischen Secten, die sich doch sonst unter einander so bitter hassten, und ferner das oben dargelegte Verhältnis zur jüdischen Tradition."

(27) op.cit. p.3

(28) "The Origin and Early History of the Syriac Pentateuch" JTS 15(1914) 14ff.

(29) "Die Verwendbarkeit der Peschitta zum Buche Job f"r die Textkritik" ZAW 17 (1898) 505ff. and 19(1900) 15ff.



then the translators of this book were Samaritans. Barnes' conclusion  
 is: <sup>30</sup> "It is difficult to believe, that the same school of translators  
 rendered into Syriac both the Law and the Psalter." He means by this that  
 the Psalter has peculiar characteristics differing from all the rest of  
 the Bible, for he adds: "It is only in the Psalter (so it seems to me at  
 the present stage of my work) that any general Greek influence bringing in  
 a new characteristic is to be found. That characteristic is a dread of  
 anthropomorphism from which the Syriac translators of the Pentateuch were  
 free." This conclusion of Barnes may not speak against a fairly uniform  
 work in the translation of the other books, for the Psalter, because of its  
 liturgical use, may well have been translated separately or thoroughly  
 revised. We may compare the situation on the Psalter of the Vulgate  
 version which alone of all the books was translated by Jerome from the  
 Septuagint. Driver <sup>31</sup> calls attention to the varying character of the  
 translations of the individual books: "Thus the translation of the  
 Pentateuch, for instance, often adheres closely to ancient Jewish exegesis,  
 traces of which are also discernible in other books, especially in the  
 Chronicles, the translation of which has additions and embellishments,  
 imparting to it quite the character of a Targum. Job on the other hand,  
 is literal: while the translation of the Psalms is strongly influenced

by the Septuagint, with which it often remarkably agrees, where both  
 deviate from the Hebrew." Nestle expresses himself quite similarly  
 (30) *Realencyclopädie* (3rd ed.) III, 170 "In grobem kann  
 man sagen, dass die Septuaginta in der Übersetzung des Psalters  
 von der hebräischen Originalsprache abgewichen ist."  
 (31) *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*.  
 (2nd ed. Oxford, 1913) p. 111.  
 (32) *A Critical Examination of the Peshitta Version of the Book of Isaiah*.  
 (33) *Die Septuaginta* von E. Nestle, 3. Aufl. Leipzig 1909, S. 170.  
 (34) *Die Septuaginta* von E. Nestle, 3. Aufl. Leipzig 1909, S. 170.



sayings. In general this translation is seen to be a careful, good, true one conforming itself to the text. Nevertheless there are rather large differences among the individual books.

"The Pentateuch follows closely the Hebrew text and Jewish exegesis; Isaiah and the Minor Prophets contain much from the Septuagint; Ruth is paraphrastic; Job is translated word for word; Chronicles has quite the character of a Targum; on the other hand, the Targum to Proverbs has made use of our Syriac; the Greek translation seems to have influenced the Psalter."

It may not be amiss to remark that the conclusions with regard to the varying character of the translations of the different books which are put forth by Driver and Nestle and others, are based on the studies of different individuals writing from 1859 on. It is possible that the whole field could be re-examined on the basis of later work and some earlier conclusions shown to be erroneous. Different investigators have used different manuscripts or printed editions as a basis. Different students may evaluate somewhat differently the extent of alleged Septuagint influence though all may grant the presence of a little such influence.

For instance, Hawley in his study of Ezra concludes that it was not influenced by the Septuagint, whereas Siegfried had thought that it was.

(32) Protestant. Realencyclopädie (3rd ed.) III, 170 "Im grossen ganzen darf diese Übersetzung als eine sorgfältige, gute, getreue, dem Text sich anschliessende betrachtet werden. Doch giebt es ziemlich grosse Unterschiede unter den einzelnen Büchern.

"Der Pentateuch folgt eng dem hebr. Text und der jüdischen Exegese, Jesaja und die Zwölf enthalten vieles aus der Septuaginta, Ruth ist paraphrastisch, Hiob Wort für Wort übertragen, die Chronik ist ganz targumartig; umgekehrt hat das Targum zu Proverbien unseren Syrer benutzt. Auf den Psalter scheint die griechische Übersetzung eingewirkt zu haben."

(33) A Critical Examination of the Peshitta Version of the Book of Ezra, p. 4.

(34) Ezra, Nehemia und Esther Handkommentar, p. 9.



The last point to be made is certain evidence as to the translator of the Peshitta,<sup>36</sup> as the evidence of Jewish or Christian authorship is quite vague and has not been fully collected. Quite possibly a part - such as the Pentateuch - may be of Jewish origin and the rest Christian. The individual books must be studied one by one - and some restudied - to determine the character of their translations. This has been done for many of the books. Haefeli gives 37 pages to a "Characterization of the text of the Peshitta of individual Old Testament books"<sup>36</sup> in which he refers to the various studies that have appeared and gives much more discussion than do Driver and Nestle, quoted above. He remarks concerning Ezra and Nehemiah, "No studies of these two books have been prepared."<sup>37</sup> In this, however, he was not altogether correct for already in 1922 C.A.Hawley had published his Critical Examination of the Peshitta Version of the Book of Ezra.

Although there is no Targum on the Book of Nehemiah, a general word may be said about the influence of the Targums on the translations of the other books. More study of this point doubtless is needed. Haefeli sums up the situation briefly:<sup>38</sup> According to Schonfelder<sup>39</sup> the Targum of Onkelos appears to have influenced the Peshitta Pentateuch. As noted above, it is usually held since the study by Pinkuss<sup>40</sup> that the Peshitta forms the basis for the Targum to Proverbs. Chaim Heller<sup>41</sup> denies any relation between the two versions and explains apparent dependencies by a living Jewish tradition common to both. Haefeli wisely concludes his

(35) Haefeli, op.cit.p.6, quotes Ephraim and Jacob of Edessa as expressly speaking of "translators" in the plural.

(36) op.cit. pp.23-59, "Charakterisierung des Peschitta-textes der einzelnen alttestamentlichen Bücher." fdr den Herausgeber der Peschitta, eine der

(37) op.cit. p.30, "Es liegen über die beiden Bücher keine Bearbeitungen vor."

(38) op.cit. p.14, "Peschitta zu verifizieren und, sofern sie nicht

(39) Onkelos und Peschitto (Munich 1869).

(40) Die syrische Übersetzung der Proverbien, below p. 238

(41) Untersuchung über die Peschitta zur gesamten hebräischen Bible (Berlin 1911).



discussion of possible influences of the versions by the remark, "It will be one of the most difficult tasks for the editor of the Peshitta to verify such actual and supposed influences on the Peshitta and, as far as they are not original, to reject them as unwarranted."<sup>42</sup>

In some ways the present study is a companion piece to Hawley's work on Ezra referred to above. Hawley, however, did not present an index and his work differs somewhat in plan. Hawley's book was reviewed favorably by Montgomery who gave briefly additional suggestions of special value.<sup>43</sup> Hawley concludes<sup>44</sup> that the translation of Ezra "is, in the main, carefully made and true to the sense without being slavishly literal. The translator has done exactly as we do in rendering French or German into English. On the other hand, in the forms of the verb, especially in the suffixes, and in the additions and omissions of the copula, a greater freedom is taken than we would like. How far this can be laid at the door of the copyists we cannot say.... In the case of doublets, such as 9:7 and 10:12, the blame must not be laid on the translator. These are more likely marginal references which later copyists put into the text." Further he argues that "the Peshitta version of Ezra was not prepared to conclude the work and an appendix giving the collations influenced by the Septuagint"<sup>45</sup> and claims that therefore it has a real independent value for criticism of MT. He gives a list of forty-two

instances where he thinks the Peshitta has preserved the original reading and MT is in error. Several of these concern merely vowel pointing.

Probably several more of his examples will not stand scrutiny. Montgomery differs with two and adds that Hawley's examples of the relation to the Septuagint are very rare or do not occur at all in Hebrew.

(42) op.cit. p.14, "Es wird für den Herausgeber der Peschitta eine der schwierigsten Aufgaben sein, solche wirklichen und vermeintlichen Einflüsse auf die Peschitta zu verifizieren und, sofern sie nicht ursprünglich sind, als unberechtigt abzuweisen."

(43) JAOS 43 (1923) 432f. See the discussion below p.123f.

(44) op.cit. p.10.

(45) op.cit. p.4.



are and Hethib are sometimes "fallacious". Of course much here depends on subjective judgment, but the present writer feels that Hawley is a bit too partial to his Syriac text. The bulk of the book is a verse by verse analysis of the departures of the Syriac from MT and an explanation of them.

In the present study there has been constantly in mind the question of the value of the Peshitta in Old Testament textual criticism. The variations of the Syriac from MT have therefore been classified instead of listed verse by verse as Hawley did,<sup>46</sup> so as to determine the errors made in transmission of the Syriac text, the extent of literalness of the original translation, the actual errors of the translator, and the relation of the Peshitta to other versions. These matters are dealt with after a preliminary chapter (II) which deals with the choice of a text to be used as a basis of the discussion, in the absence of a critical edition. Finally there are presented some conclusions based on this study of Nehemiah, in line with the suggestions of Montgomery in his review of Hawley's work, which may be of some assistance in the judicious use of the Peshitta in Old Testament study. A Syriac-Hebrew index to Nehemiah has been prepared to conclude the work and an appendix giving the collations with such other texts as were available.

(46) An instance of how classification may improve the usefulness of the material collected may be cited. Hawley on p. 8 lists nineteen sets of letters which are interchanged in Ezra by copyists. He does not indicate the relative frequency of these confusions. In Nehemiah, as will be shown on p. 35 and p. 51, two of these examples of confusion occur with great frequency; the others are very rare or do not occur at all in Nehemiah. Also, Hawley entirely disregards Codex Ambrosianus. Probably reference to this text would have cleared up a few of his difficulties. He remarks that the various editions of the Polyglots, Lee, and Wm. are of equal value for all practical purposes and says "I have used L because it is the most convenient." p. 6. p. x.



After the example of Rosenwasser,<sup>1</sup> and Tycher,<sup>2</sup> the photolithographed edition of the Codex Ambrosianus edited by Ceriani has been used as the basis for the index and critical study here presented. References have been made to Lee and the collations of Thorndike where these are helpful. Reasons should be given for the choice of Ambrosianus especially because it was neglected by Hawley and rejected by Lazarus.<sup>3</sup> It would be more natural instead to have used the handy edition of the Peshitta edited by Samuel Lee and published by the British and Foreign Bible Society, which is probably more easily obtainable even though now out of print. Also some have questioned the value of A. When Ceriani's handsome edition of A appeared in 1876, Cornill spoke of it as money wasted<sup>4</sup> because he felt that the manuscript had been revised throughout on the basis of the Massoretic Text. If this were true, it would indeed be of minor value for purposes of Old Testament textual criticism. It may be noted that, according to a private letter to Barnes,<sup>5</sup> Cornill later retracted his harsh judgment of Codex A on the basis of an article by Bahlfs<sup>6</sup> and following further study. Barnes himself regards Codex A as "certainly the most valuable authority which we possess for the Peshitta text of the Old Testament."<sup>7</sup>

Barnes in *Chronicles* p. xv, identifies this Va. as "Syriac 6". The Lee's edition and the other printed editions which have gone before due to noncertainty than any other of the Va. here cited, and it appeared leave a great deal to be desired. The first printed edition of the Peshitta was in the margin of a large scale often without any critical authority whatsoever.

- (1) op.cit. p. 111. Texts of the Peshitta of the Old Testament, A. 1876 (1931) 176-184.
- (2) op.cit. p. 129. The indexes prepared by students at the Dropsie College have also been based on Codex A.
- (3) vid. sup. pp. 13 and 5.
- (4) *Das Buch des Propheten Ezechiel*. (Leipzig 1886) p. 145 "Geld zum Fenster hinausgeworfen."
- (5) Quoted in *Chronicles* p. x.
- (6) "Beiträge zur Textkritik der Peschita." ZAW 9(1889) 161ff. Barnes in his Peshitta Psalter disagrees with Bahlfs on the history of the text.
- (7) *Chronicles* p. xxi.



of the Peshitta Old Testament was in the Paris Polyglot of 1646. The Syriac text there printed was edited by Gabriel Sionita, apparently from a late manuscript.<sup>8</sup> This text was reprinted in the London Polyglot of 1657 without change except for the addition of a few typographical errors. In 1823 Lee edited the Peshitta for the British and Foreign Bible Society claiming to have used old manuscripts and to have presented a critical text, but it seems that his editing was not well done. He practically reprinted the London Polyglot. The printed editions are carefully discussed by Joshua Bloch.<sup>9</sup> He states that Lee, among other errors, gave too much weight to the comments of Bar Hebraeus, and states that "Lee's edition contains a large number of readings which have practically no manuscript authority behind them." He charges it also with many misprints and with no thoroughness or system in the use of the critical materials which were available. It represents, thus, a mixed text and not a good critical edition.

According to Bloch, the other printed editions are not so much better. The fourth printed edition was the Urmia edition of Rev. Justin Perkins.<sup>10</sup> Bloch says of it "as regards text there is a great advancement on Lee's edition. It must, however, be remembered that this edition of the Peshitta is not independent of that of Lee."<sup>11</sup>

(8) Barnes in Chronicles p.xv, identifies this Ms. as "Syriaques 6" of the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris. He adds that "it contained more errors due to homoeoteleuton than any other of the Mss here cited; and it was afterwards revised by an editor who made corrections in the text and supplied omissions in the margin on a large scale often without any manuscript authority whatsoever."

(9) "The Printed Texts of the Peshitta Old Testament", AJSL 37(1921) 136-144.

(10) Vetus Testamentum Syriace et Neosyriace (Urmia 1852).

(11) op.cit. p 140 (italics his).



Especially is it questionable whether this edition is of value in the book of Nehemiah. Barnes<sup>12</sup> believes that Perkins took Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah from Lee or the Polyglots rather than from a manuscript. Of the only remaining printed edition, the Mosul edition,<sup>13</sup> Bloch says:<sup>14</sup> "its value for the textual critic is very small, if any whatever." The reason for this is that it was issued by Dominicans of Mosul expressly for practical missionary purposes and to replace among Catholics of the Syrian church the Protestant edition of Urmia. It was plainly said, Bloch continues, that the editor prepared it on the basis of the edition of the Protestants "and on a manuscript of the seventeenth century having also before his eyes the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin texts."

Thus the five texts printed to date are all very poor for purposes of textual criticism and concordance study. In the absence of a critical edition of the Peshitta, it seems wise to base what work is done, on the old and valuable Codex Ambrosianus which is rather widely available, thanks to Ceriani, and is in a very legible hand.

The present study of Nehemiah seems to bear out for this book also, the conclusions of the above authors with reference to the relative values of Lee and Ambrosianus. The two were collated and a table of the variations will be found in the appendix. It is of course true, as Cornill pointed out and Barnes admits, that in many of the places where A differs from L it does so in agreement with the Massoretic

(12) "The Peshitta Version of 2 Kings" JTS 6(1905) 221.

(13) Biblia sacra iuxta versionem simplicem, que dicitur Peshitta (Mosul 1887-91).

(14) op.cit. p.142. He quotes a private letter on the subject.



Text. Cornhill argued that, because in 134 meaningful differences between L and A, A agrees with MT 86 times, that therefore there had been a wide revision of A on the basis of MT. It would seem that his proof could not have been complete unless he had cited also the number of instances - presumably large - when A agrees with L and both are against MT. In the book of Nehemiah one is struck by the fact that in the large majority of instances A agrees with L even in its vagaries against MT. There are also a number of disagreements between A and L where neither agree with MT. There are also some - relatively few - where A agrees with MT against L. This situation is exactly what we should expect in an older, better manuscript, and we should not conclude to a revision of A on the basis of MT.

Aside from the numbers of places where A evidently retains an older, better reading and therefore one closer to MT, it is interesting to note in Nehemiah many examples of names where the form of A is intermediate between L and MT. If the same name has one part where A and L agree against MT (and are obviously wrong), and another part where A and MT agree against L, it stands to reason that the part of the name where A is correct and agrees with MT is not the result of a revision - for the balance of the name still needs revision. Rather it is a good early reading preserved in A, but lost in later slipshod copying, appearing corrupt in L.



Some examples of such instances where A agrees with MT in half of a word are given herewith:

8:7 יִיָּד / A יִיָּד L יִיָּד

7:13 נִפְלִי / A נִפְלִי L נִפְלִי (cf. 10:14 נִפְלִי / A and L נִפְלִי)

7:28 יִיָּד / A יִיָּד L יִיָּד

11:34 יִיָּד / A יִיָּד L יִיָּד

It is furthermore instructive to note that when A agrees with MT against L, the disagreement of L is often seen to be of a type that admits of easy explanation as an error by a later Syriac copyist of the L text. Instructively, the inner Syriac errors both of this kind and those deduced without the evidence of A, are often of a type directly attributable to the Estrangela script rather than the Jacobite. Of course some letters like Resh and Daleth are quite similar in both scripts, but others like Ayin and Gimel are quite similar in Estrangela, but not in Jacobite. Errors concerning these latter letters are therefore particularly interesting. The following are selected examples of cases where the disagreements of L are easily explainable as due to later copyists:

7:53 יִיָּד / יִיָּד L יִיָּד (simple haplography in L)

10:24 יִיָּד / יִיָּד L יִיָּד (see p.35 for the יִיָּד / יִיָּד variant)

12:6 יִיָּד / יִיָּד L יִיָּד

12:13 יִיָּד / יִיָּד L יִיָּד (This is Ezra the scribe)

12:34 יִיָּד / יִיָּד L יִיָּד



Some examples may also be given of cases where A, L, and MT all differ. In many of these, if not most, the errors of L and A are easily explainable:

3:10  $\text{לְהַגִּיד} / \text{לְהַגִּיד}$  L  $\text{לְהַגִּיד}$  (see p.35 for other examples of this)

7:51  $\text{וְיָדָע} / \text{וְיָדָע}$  L  $\text{וְיָדָע}$

10:5  $\text{וְיָדָע} / \text{וְיָדָע}$  L  $\text{וְיָדָע}$

There are only eleven cases where L agrees with MT against A. These will all be listed here for completeness' sake though they will be discussed in their proper categories in the chapter on Names. It may be said that the errors in A in these eleven cases are of an occasional nature not always easy to explain. They may be peculiar defects of this codex not in general shared by the other members of the A family. However a few of the odd readings appear in Thorndike's apparatus, and family relationships among the Syriac manuscripts are not very clearly known, so not much can be said.

3:15  $\text{וְיָדָע} / \text{וְיָדָע}$  L  $\text{וְיָדָע}$

3:16  $\text{וְיָדָע} / \text{וְיָדָע}$  L  $\text{וְיָדָע}$

3:17  $\text{וְיָדָע} / \text{וְיָדָע}$  L  $\text{וְיָדָע}$

3:24  $\text{וְיָדָע} / \text{וְיָדָע}$  L  $\text{וְיָדָע}$

7:7  $\text{וְיָדָע} / \text{וְיָדָע}$  L  $\text{וְיָדָע}$

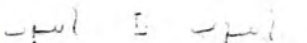
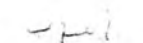
7:11  $\text{וְיָדָע} / \text{וְיָדָע}$  L  $\text{וְיָדָע}$

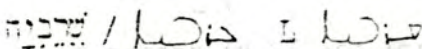

10:17  $\text{וְיָדָע} / \text{וְיָדָע}$  L  $\text{וְיָדָע}$

11:7  $\text{וְיָדָע} / \text{וְיָדָע}$  L  $\text{וְיָדָע}$  Thorndike cites another Ms:  $\text{וְיָדָע}$

the correct text.



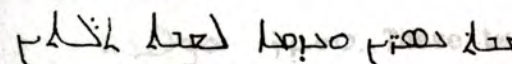
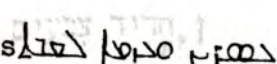
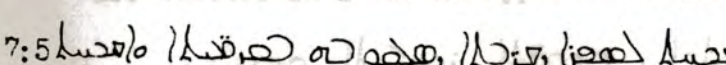
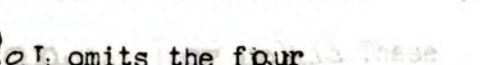
11:18 1178/  L 

12:8 1179/  L 

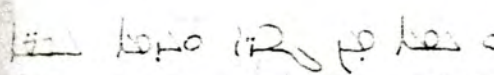
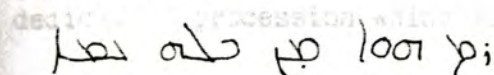
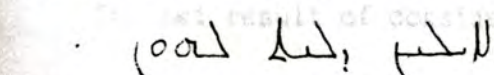
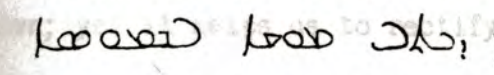
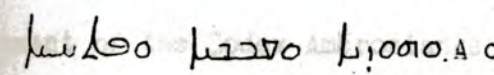
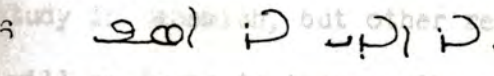


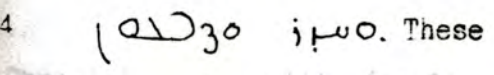
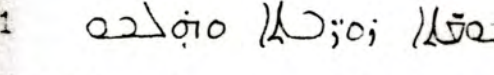
12:22 1181/  L 

By way of summary of the above data on names, it can be stated that there are approximately 75 instances of significant difference - not counting vowel letters except for special reasons - between the names of A and L. Of these, there are 11 where L agrees with MT against A; about 30 where A agrees with MT against L; and about 35 where all three disagree. The true state of the A text is not seen, however, until we add that in about 175 cases A goes with L against MT. From these figures it is quite apparent that A is better than L, but that it still is rather corrupt. It certainly has not been revised on the basis of MT for it still shows about 220 cases of disagreement with MT out of a total of around 850 names.

The study of the text of the Peshitta of Nehemiah aside from the names leads us to the same conclusion with regard to the value of A. Here we may mention 11 instances of additions, omissions, or misplacements in L and A which are rather clearly due to blunders of copyists. In eight cases A is superior; in three L has the better text. They are as follows:

- 5:14  A omits the words  by a clear case of homoioteleuton. L preserves the correct text.
- 7:5  L omits the four words  probably by homoioteleuton. A has the correct text.



- 8:3 . A omits the first two words which do not appear in MT and were doubtless added as an explanatory gloss in L.
- 8:6 . L omits the last six words clearly by homoioteleuton. A is correct, agreeing with MT.
- 8:13 . A omits these words thus agreeing with MT. L has apparently added them as an explanatory gloss derived from the similar thought in verse 11.
- 8:16 . A omits the last four words which are not in MT and are probably an explanatory gloss in L.
- 9:4 . A omits these three names which are not found here in MT. They were inserted by an L copyist from verse 5 in order to harmonize the two lists of Levites. Interestingly, A differs from MT just enough, in the treatment of the preceding names to show that there has been no revision of A in this spot.
- 11:16 . These words which belong after the word  are placed six words too early and put after the somewhat similar word  in L. It was perhaps a kind of homoioteleuton in L. A preserves the true text.
- 11:34 . These two words, standing for וְהָיוּ לְכָל הָעָם, are omitted in L for no apparent reason. A is correct—approximately.
- 12:31 . These eight words are repeated verbatim in A by homoioteleuton. L is correct.



just before *L* perhaps as an explanatory gloss. Someone may have felt the obligation to explain the situation of the dedicatory procession which was standing upon both the wall and the towers. In any case, *L* preserves the correct text.

The net result of consideration of the above evidence is that *A* in Nehemiah is an independent and a most valuable witness to the original Peshitta text. It reproduces many of the old errors; it adds some of its own; yet it helps us to rectify numerous other errors that later crept into the style of text represented by *L*. As Earnes puts it "The agreement of the Codex Ambrosianus with the Massorets is no doubt a fact, but the whole truth seems to be that a text formed from the best and oldest Mss would agree about as frequently as Cod. A with the Massoretic and would disagree as frequently with the present printed text." <sup>15</sup> We are therefore fully justified in using *A* as a basis for our study in Nehemiah, but other readings will be compared and occasionally they will be found to improve the reading of *A*.

(15) *Chronicles* p. xxiii, (*italics his*).



For the proper use of the Peshitta in Old Testament study it is first necessary to know how faithfully its text has been transmitted. As will become apparent on further study, the Peshitta text has suffered considerably in the hands of its copyists. Some of the errors made in transmission can easily be identified by a comparison of L and other text witnesses with A. The important examples of this have been considered in the previous chapter. Other errors of copyists can be spotted with practical certainty though all our textual witnesses agree in the error, simply because the reason for the error is apparent. Certain cases of metathesis would be examples of this type of patent inner Syriac error. Other errors of transmission may be suspected, but their cause must remain conjectural.

The errors of transmission considered in this chapter will be classified as inner Syriac errors, additions to the text which clearly occurred in the process of copying, and omissions by copyists. In the following chapter on personal names, additional material will be presented bearing on the matter of the transmission of the text. Over half of the variants of the Syriac names from MT is due to copyists' errors.

#### 1. Inner Syriac Errors.

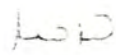

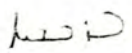
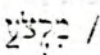
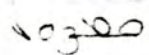
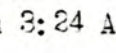
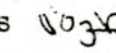
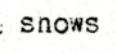
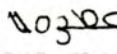
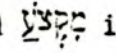
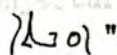
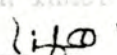
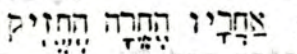
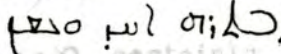








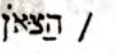


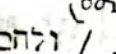

- a) 2:13 and 15 שֶׁר / ܫܪ LXX σὺντριβὼν (which is often in LXX for שֶׁר).

We can not be sure what happened, but the LXX reading clearly supports the Pesh of MT. Quite likely the Syriac was originally ܫܪ changing to ܫܪ by inner error. Possibly the error is due to the translators







- original reading were not  which dropped the  of  
 haplography, then became  by changes well attested elsewhere (p.35).
- e) 3:19, 20, 24, 25.  / . In 3:19 and 20 this word seems rather  
 clearly to suffer metathesis. In 3:24 A has  and L has .  
 In 3:25 A has  and only L shows metathesis: . Neither of  
 these Syriac words is listed in Payne-Smith's "Thesaurus". Apparently  
 we should assume a transliteration of a difficult Hebrew word with later  
 metathesis in some cases. Where the word  is used elsewhere - in  
 Exodus and Ezekiel concerning the tabernacle and its furniture - it is  
 translated well by  "angle" or  "side".
- f) 3:20 The Hebrew  is rendered: . In view  
 of the frequent interchange of Resh and Daleth, it seems best to take  
 this as an inner error for  the Aphel of . The word  is  
 difficult of translation. The LXX simply omits it.  does not seem  
 to be a possible translation of , but on the above suggestion it would  
 be literally translated with easy subsequent inner Syriac error.
- g) 3:21  (second occurrence) /  L . In view of the witness of L we  
 probably must see here a copyist's error. It probably was due to carelessness.
- h) 3:32  /  L . As the reading of L shows, this is an inner  
 error in A. The change of initial Ayin to Gimel is easily explained  
 (cf. (b) above), but there is no precedent for the change from Nun to  
 Shin, nor is there a good reason why the change would suggest itself to  
 a scribe.
- i) 7:67  / . This Syriac word does not yield very good sense in the



context. Probably the best suggestion to explain the error is that  
 (𐤀𐤍𐤌) was corrupted to (𐤀𐤍𐤌). Although a Caph/Ḥaw variant is not  
 observed in the study of the transmission of names, it would be a  
 very natural one.

- j) 9:5 Probably an inner error is to be recognized in the reading  
 (𐤀𐤍𐤌𐤀𐤍𐤌𐤀𐤍𐤌) "all creation", for 𐤀𐤍𐤌𐤀𐤍𐤌𐤀𐤍𐤌. The LXX supports MT.

Likely there is here only a careless omission of Caph in the form

(𐤀𐤍𐤌𐤀𐤍𐤌).

- k) 9:38 An attractive conjecture positing an inner error here may  
 relieve a difficulty. For the word 𐤀𐤍𐤌𐤀𐤍𐤌𐤀𐤍𐤌. A has 𐤀𐤍𐤌𐤀𐤍𐤌 and  
 L has 𐤀𐤍𐤌𐤀𐤍𐤌. MT has nothing equal-to 𐤀𐤍𐤌𐤀𐤍𐤌, certainly  
 nothing like 𐤀𐤍𐤌𐤀𐤍𐤌 which doesn't fit in this context. If we assume  
 the careless loss of a Tau and final Nun, we may join these last  
 two words, omitting a vowel letter and read 𐤀𐤍𐤌𐤀𐤍𐤌. This would  
 agree well with the Hebrew and make excellent sense. It is only a  
 conjecture, but may well have been what happened.

- l) 10:32 𐤀𐤍𐤌𐤀𐤍𐤌 is read (𐤀𐤍𐤌𐤀𐤍𐤌) probably by corruption within the Syriac  
 as there are other instances (cf. p 38) where the Nun/Peth interchange  
 occurs. It is possible, on the other hand, that the change from 𐤀𐤍𐤌𐤀𐤍𐤌  
 to (𐤀𐤍𐤌𐤀𐤍𐤌) was intentional as there may have been a feeling that the  
 contribution of one-third stater (about 25a) per annum was too small  
 and that it must have been this amount per week.

- m) 11:35 𐤀𐤍𐤌𐤀𐤍𐤌 This doubtless came from 𐤀𐤍𐤌𐤀𐤍𐤌 Cf. p.63 for discussion.



n) 13:39  $\text{ܬܝܪܐܝܬܐ} / \text{ܬܝܪܐܝܬܐ}$ . The same tower in 8:1 is called  $\text{ܬܝܪܐܝܬܐ}$  correctly. The present instance may be another case of mere free translation. Just as a tower might be described as a "great tower" rather than named, it could also be described as a high one. Cf. the several gates and towers called simply  $\text{ܬܝܪܐܝܬܐ}$ ; listed on p. 101. A second possibility is more attractive. Perhaps the name was first set down as  $\text{ܬܝܪܐܝܬܐ}$  then, as the Daleth/Resh variant is so common, it could easily have become corrupted to  $\text{ܬܝܪܐܝܬܐ}$ ; and then  $\text{ܬܝܪܐܝܬܐ}$ ; The LXX translates it  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \upsilon\delta\alpha\tau\omicron\sigma$  corrupting it in another direction.

o) 13:2  $\text{ܬܝܪܐܝܬܐ} / \text{ܬܝܪܐܝܬܐ}$  L  $\text{ܬܝܪܐܝܬܐ}$ . As the witness of L shows, there has been a simple metathesis in the text of A.

p) 13:5  $\text{ܬܝܪܐܝܬܐ} / \text{ܬܝܪܐܝܬܐ}$ . This reading fits the context well enough, but is quite inaccurate. Possibly it was just a free and careless translation. Perhaps, however, we should see here an inner error for the word usually used to translate  $\text{ܬܝܪܐܝܬܐ}$ , namely  $\text{ܬܝܪܐܝܬܐ}$ . The two Syriac words, though differing considerably in details are quite similar in form. The Daleth/Resh variant and the Nun/Yodh variant are so common as to be no problem. The change from Pe to Beth is also very understandable. The hypothesis is tenuous, but has a good bit to recommend it.

## 2. Additions due to copyists.

a) 2:5 There is apparently a purposeful insertion of  $\text{ܬܝܪܐܝܬܐ}$  as an explanatory gloss. The Syriac is:  $\text{ܬܝܪܐܝܬܐ} \text{ܬܝܪܐܝܬܐ} \text{ܬܝܪܐܝܬܐ}$  translating the Hebrew:  $\text{עֵיר קְדֻשָּׁה} \text{קְדֻשָּׁה}$ . Apparently first the construct relation of  $\text{עֵיר}$  and  $\text{קְדֻשָּׁה}$  was lost sight of as shown by



by the insertion of **ܠܕܐ**, a word borrowed from the similar phrase in vs. 3. Then to specify more particularly the city which was meant, a copyist added **ܦܥܝܐ**. The text of L reads without the addition: **ܠܕܐ ܠܐܝܬܐ ܠܐܝܬܐ ܠܐܝܬܐ**.

b) 3:20 Here a sentence is repeated almost exactly from vs. 24 where it occurs properly. It is: **ܠܐܝܬܐ ܠܐܝܬܐ ܠܐܝܬܐ ܠܐܝܬܐ**. These words agree with vs. 24 except that **ܠܐ** is there **ܠܐܝܬܐ**. The repetition is odd as the immediate contexts are not too similar. The chapter is made up of a series of statements concerning the builders and it was easy for a copyist to lose his place and repeat.

c) 7:63 An extra **ܐܝܬܐ** has been inserted in the Syriac text by dittography thus: **ܐܝܬܐ ܐܝܬܐ ܐܝܬܐ** for **ܐܝܬܐ**. The insertion rather clearly took place in the course of copying of the Syriac text, because it is a dittography of the Syriac word for "son". Incidentally, the name does not mean "son of Zillai", but "man of iron". The Syriac dittography arose from a false etymologizing of the name.

There are doubtless many more additions due to copyists

than the above three instances, but the others are difficult to separate from explanatory additions of the original scribes and so will be listed in Chapter V "Mistakes of the Translators."



## 2. Omissions due to the copyists.

- a) There is an omission of the two words in 1:7:  $\text{ܣܠܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ}$  (or two similar ones) because of homoioteleuton. The reconstructed section would be:  $\text{ܣܠܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ}$  and the present reading is:  $\text{ܣܠܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ}$ . The Hebrew reads:  $\text{וַיֵּלֶךְ יְהוֹשֻׁעַ וְכָל הָעָם אֲשֶׁר עִמּוֹ בְּיַד יְהוָה$ . Note that the present Syriac text retains  $\text{ܕܥܡܐ}$  representing  $\text{וְכָל$  which argues slightly against it being an omission of the translator. The phrase just before this one reads  $\text{ܣܠܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ}$ .
- b) 2:5 Two words are omitted from the sentence originally reading as follows:  $\text{ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ}$ . The words omitted are:  $\text{ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ}$  so that the reading of A is thus:  $\text{ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ}$ . L still has the original reading given above so it is clearly a copyist's omission due probably to the tendency to drop one of the rather synonymous phrases.
- c) 4:14 L has the words  $\text{ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ}$  which translate  $\text{וְכָל הָעָם אֲשֶׁר עִמּוֹ}$ . But, A omits the last four words ending the verse with  $\text{ܕܥܡܐ}$ . It was a careless omission of the last two elements of a series.
- d) 10:34 There has been an omission of half the verse by a rather clear case of homoioteleuton. The words which have been omitted may be reconstructed thus:  $\text{ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ}$  representing MT:  $\text{וְכָל הָעָם אֲשֶׁר עִמּוֹ בְּיַד יְהוָה}$ .



The words following the omitted section are ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܢ (ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܢ).

Doubtless the similarity of the first word in the omitted section to the following phrase was the cause of the omission. Since the words concerned are alike in both Hebrew and Syriac, it must be allowed that the homoioteleuton may have been due to the translator about as definitely as to a copyist.

On p.12, Haefeli was quoted as saying that it is often most difficult to decide which readings are original and which are due to copyists and editors of later times. The above group of examples serves to underscore Haefeli's remarks. It is doubtless true that the above list of copyists' mistakes could be increased if we could certainly identify all the mistakes of this nature. But in the other instances we have no definite proof of the cause of the error and therefore such cases have been relegated to Chapter V "Mistakes of the Translator". Enough has been said in this chapter to show that our present text is in a rather poor state of preservation. Further study dealing with the personal names will strengthen the conclusion that many of the copyists' errors entered the text at such an early time that even a good critical edition based on the existing Mss would not by any means correct all the errors of transmission.

led into mistakes of the eye, slips of the pen, mistakes of memory. Variations due to the translators will be



As noted above (p.20), there are about 350 names in Nehemiah of which about 220 show significant differences between MT and our standard codex, A. This does not count vowel letters except when specially significant. Lee's text shows approximately 30 additional variations. That there is a disproportionately large number of variations in the names in the Peshitta of Nehemiah is shown by the fact that in Gen. 10 and 11 the Peshitta shows only about 10 variations out of about 100 different names. And there the variations are not serious in nature often being only minor mistakes affecting one letter. Clearly the text of Nehemiah has been more carelessly treated in this regard than has Genesis.

A study of the names in Nehemiah is quite useful in illustrating the types of error made by the Syriac translators and copyists. And because there is a large number of names in Nehemiah, the study is especially illuminating and necessary. An effort will be made to classify the variations and to suggest possible explanations. In many instances, of course, it will not be possible to be certain in the classification, but in such cases some explanation will be made. The major distinction will first be drawn between mistakes made by the copyists - inner Syriac errors - and variations introduced by the original translators. The inner Syriac errors will be further subdivided into mistakes of the eye, slips of the pen, mistakes of speech and errors of memory. Variations due to the translators will be



subdivided into mistakes of the eye - misreading of the text, dialectic variations - caused by the application of phonetic principles, and errors of the understanding - mistranslations and the like. In all of the variations it will be noticed that MT is very seldom suspect and the LXX very rarely agrees with the Peshitta in a divergence from MT.

## I Variations from MT due to Copyists' Errors

### A. Mistakes due to the eye.

1. Variations of Resh and Daleth. This is the most common variation of all, but will be treated at greater length under errors of the translators, (p82). The form of the two Hebrew letters was so similar at various times that the Syriac translators, like the Septuagint translators only more frequently, misread the one letter for the other. But, since the two letters are so similar in Syriac also, differing only by the diacritical point, it is doubtless true that some of these divergences are due to careless copying. This would seem to be clearly the case where the Syriac textual witnesses disagree. Unless we posit a later correction of some of the manuscripts, a disagreement would indicate that the original copy had been correct and some of the daughter manuscripts introduced error. In Chapter II it was shown that it is not likely that our text witnesses have been revised on the basis of MT or the LXX and therefore we may class these particular discrepancies as inner Syriac errors. There doubtless are some others which should also be thus



classified, but it is practically impossible to tell which. We shall therefore largely confine ourselves in this section to instances where either A or L is correct and the other text introduces a mistaken reading of Daleth or Resh. Errors that concern other letters in these names will be considered in later sections.

- a) 3:70 יָדֹן / לֵס L (ס).  
 b) 3:10 יָדִיה / לֵס L ס.  
 c) 7:53 הַחֲחִיר (Ezr.2:51 same) / לֵס L (Ezr.2:51 ; ס).  
 d) 8:8 יִזְכָּר / לֵס L ס but cf. 11:16 where A and L agree in the mistake ס. Because of the situation in 8:8, we may think that in 11:16 also the mistake was made by a copyist.  
 e) 10:15 עֲזָרָה / לֵס L ס. But in 7:17 עֲזָרָה (Ezr.2:13 same) is written by both A and L ס. Cf. the situation in (d) above. possibly in 7:17 also the error was made in copying.  
 f) 10:17 עֲזָרָה / לֵס L ; ס. Notice here that it is A that has introduced the mistake. This circumstance is not so frequent, but it occurs often enough to indicate that the manuscripts back of L are not direct descendants of A. Some errors of transmission were made in the A type of text after it separated from the progenitors of L.  
 g) 12:34 יִרְמִיָּה / לֵס L ס.

(1) It is possible that the Yodh/Hun variant here and in (f) and (g) is purely accidental due to the fact that the Yodh prefix of the 3 m.s. (m.p.) form of hun in Syriac? Against this suggestion is the occurrence of reversed (i) and (c) and the apparent ease with which a copyist could confuse the two letters as shown by the many examples of such mistakes.



2. Variations of Yodh and Nun. These variations are common and are obviously due to inner Syriac errors. In some Mss. these letters hardly differ.

(Where no reading of L is cited, it agrees with A)

a) 3:7 יִדְוֹן / (סִי L (1)

b) 3:13 יִדְוֹן / וֹדֹ and 11:30 יִדְוֹן / וֹדֹ. After the mistake was

made in one place, memory may have caused a scribe to change the other occurrence also. But such harmonizing was not regularly done.

c) 6:14 נִזְעָדִיָּה / נִזְעָדִיָּה. Here A and L share both mistakes.

d) 10:8 נִזְעָדִיָּה / נִזְעָדִיָּה. Note that L only has the error.

e) 10:25 חֲשַׁכְנִיָּה / חֲשַׁכְנִיָּה. But cf. the frequent name חֲשַׁכְנִיָּה / חֲשַׁכְנִיָּה

and the similar name חֲשַׁכְנִיָּה / חֲשַׁכְנִיָּה. These other names may have

caused a scribe to err through memory and the mistake in that case

would not be a simple error of the eye.

f) 11:5 יוֹרִיב / יוֹרִיב. Perhaps here the Resh was misread by the

translator and then the new and common name then suggested itself

to a copyist. This suggestion is supported by the situation in

12:6 and 19 where the Resh is always changed to Daleth, but the

rest of the name is variously treated, thus: 12:6 יוֹרִיב / יוֹרִיב

L יוֹרִיב 12:19 (same man): יוֹרִיב

(1) Is it possible that the Yodh/Nun variant here and in (f) and (k) is entirely dialectal due to the fact that the Yodh prefix of the 3 m.s. Impf. took the form of Nun in Syriac? Against this suggestion is the occurrence of the reverse in (i) and (c) and the apparent ease with which a copyist could confuse the two letters as shown by the many examples of such mistakes.



- g) 11:7 נְחֵמְיָא / נְחֵמְיָא L נְחֵמְיָא. The further error of L comes possibly by metathesis from the text of A, or perhaps it arose by the omission of the first Yodh and a miscopying of the second Yodh as Nun. The ending נְחֵמְיָא is regularly נְחֵמְיָא.
- h) 11:28 נְחֵמְיָא / נְחֵמְיָא, L נְחֵמְיָא. In this instance only L has the error.
- i) 11:34 נְחֵמְיָא / נְחֵמְיָא L נְחֵמְיָא. Note that L shares one mistake with A, but introduces another one through metathesis.
- j) 12:15 נְחֵמְיָא / נְחֵמְיָא, L נְחֵמְיָא. In the case of this name we do not have a simple
- k) 12:34 נְחֵמְיָא / נְחֵמְיָא L נְחֵמְיָא. Like (d) above, L only has the error.
- l) 12:41 נְחֵמְיָא / נְחֵמְיָא.
- m) 11:32 נְחֵמְיָא / נְחֵמְיָא, Possibly this may be considered as involving a Nun/Yodh variant, but the addition at the beginning is not clear. Pococke, quoted by Thorndike, gives נְחֵמְיָא.

Thus there are in all, 12 instances of this variation in Nehemiah. In none of them is the Syriac supported by the Greek and more often than not the Syriac form is definitely inferior as a Semitic name, to the form of MT. Clearly all the above are inner Syriac errors. Very similar to this class is the following group of variants:

### 3. Variations involving Yodh and Heth, or a Nun and Heth, or a Heth and Nun-Yodh.

- a) 3:10 נְחֵמְיָא / נְחֵמְיָא L נְחֵמְיָא. A dittography of the perpendicular stroke for Yodh yields the Heth. A slight misreading of the two strokes yields the Nun-Yodh of L. The reading of L almost surely arose from that of A, but A itself has a copyist's error already.
- b) 3:18 נְחֵמְיָא / נְחֵמְיָא L נְחֵמְיָא. Also in 10:9 נְחֵמְיָא. Note that by haplography one of the three strokes has been dropped. Cf. also 3:24 (same man as 3:19) נְחֵמְיָא L נְחֵמְיָא. Here it must be confessed that the strokes



- g) 11:7 נְחֵמְיָה / נְחֵמְיָה L נְחֵמְיָה. The further error of L comes possibly by metathesis from the text of A, or perhaps it arose by the omission of the first Yodh and a miscopying of the second Yodh as has Nun. The ending נְחֵמְיָה- is regularly נְחֵמְיָה-.
- h) 11:28 נְחֵמְיָה / נְחֵמְיָה, In this instance N has the error,
- i) 11:34 נְחֵמְיָה / נְחֵמְיָה L נְחֵמְיָה. Note that L shares one mistake with A, but introduces another one through metathesis.
- j) 12:15 נְחֵמְיָה / נְחֵמְיָה, in the case of this name we should have a simple
- k) 12:34 נְחֵמְיָה / נְחֵמְיָה L נְחֵמְיָה. Like (d) above, L only has the error.
- l) 12:41 נְחֵמְיָה / נְחֵמְיָה.
- m) 11:32 נְחֵמְיָה / נְחֵמְיָה, Possibly this may be considered as involving a Nun/Yodh variant, but the addition at the beginning is not clear. Pococke, quoted by Thorndike, gives נְחֵמְיָה

Thus there are in all, 12 instances of this variation in Nehemiah. In none of them is the Syriac supported by the Greek and more often than not the Syriac form is definitely inferior as a Semitic name, to the form of MT. Clearly all the above are inner Syriac errors. Very similar to this class is the following group of variants:

### 3. Variations involving Yodh and Heth, or a Nun and Heth, or a Heth and Nun-Yodh.

- a) 3:10 נְחֵמְיָה / נְחֵמְיָה L נְחֵמְיָה. A dittography of the perpendicular stroke for Yodh yields the Heth. A slight misreading of the two strokes yields the Nun-Yodh of L. The reading of L almost surely arose from that of A, but A itself has a copyist's error already.
- b) 3:18 נְחֵמְיָה / נְחֵמְיָה L נְחֵמְיָה. Also in 10:9 נְחֵמְיָה. Note that by haplography one of the three strokes has been dropped. Cf. also 3:24 (same man as 3:13) נְחֵמְיָה L נְחֵמְיָה. Here it must be confessed that the strokes



occurrence in the Syriac of 3:30 where the Syriac (both L and A) has an extra line which has been introduced from 3:24. The name is ܡܠܬܐ

It is possible that in the case of this name we do not have a simple copyist's error of the eye, but that the name somehow became confused with the well-known name of Joshua.


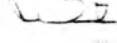

e) 7:63 הַיָּהוּדִי / הַיָּהוּדִי, The same man in Ezr.2:61 is הַיָּהוּדִי / הַיָּהוּדִי.

f) 10:24 <sup>עליו</sup> / <sup>ולא</sup> <sup>בזה</sup> Again this mistake is only in L.

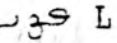

Note that both A and L share the mistake in the Resh for r Daleth and thus even A has a very unsatisfactory name. However the name was not very familiar, only occurring elsewhere in Ezr.8:13 where the Syriac again has *rosh*; The mistake of Neh. 7:18 is only found in L.


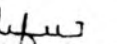
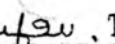
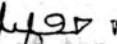
...error, the L&S never supports the Syrians in the



i) 12:24  /  L . It is probable that the mistake in treatment of the Heth is a copyist's error like the others in this section. One stroke of the Heth has fallen out in A; both of them are missing in L. The confusion at the end of the word may be an interchange of -Yah for -El. It will be discussed later, (p. 43)

In the two further examples MT and L agree but A shows a mistake of this sort:

j) 7:51  /  L .

k) 7:59  /  L . This name is so very different that it may not be a proper example of the change we are considering. Note the adjacent name  which may have influenced the ending and surely caused the peculiar insertion of Pe in L.

In the above list there are five cases where only L has the mistake in question (c,d,f,g,h) and two where L is superior to A. Taking this section with the preceding one dealing with the Nun/Yodh variant, we can say that the most numerous copyists' mistakes, by far, concern the upright stroke which occurs in the Yodh and Heth and also the Nun in the Estrangelo script. In fact this error is almost as common as all the variations of Resh and Daleth of whatever cause. Moreover many of these errors are quite old, going back to the time before the divergence of the A and L types of text. As would be expected with so typical an inner Syriac error, the LXX never supports the Syriac in the above variations.



## 4. Variations of Beth and Nun.

a) 7:68 תבתי / תבתי. Cf. (e) above p. 35 for discussion.

b) 9:4 תבתי / תבתי. This variation is at first not easy to understand as a copyist's error, but reference to Codex A will show that the Beth in the old script was rather rectangular, thus:  
If the upper left line became blurred in a faded manuscript, the remainder would resemble a Nun. In any case the mistake was not common.

c) 10:6 תבתי / תבתי. There is a place תבתי but it was not prominent, only occurring six times in the whole Old Testament and not at all in Nehemiah. It is not used as a personal name. Other occurrences of the present name complicate the situation. In 12:16 we have תבתי / תבתי but L תבתי. The Ayin is confused with a medial Beth only here. In 12:4 there is another mention of the same man named in 12:16. There the name is תבתי / תבתי L תבתי. The extreme errors of 12:4 are hard to explain and will be discussed later, (p. 39).

## 5. Miscellaneous mistakes, chiefly single instances, probably mistakes of the eye.

a) Initial Ayin/Gimel. 10:5 עתה / עתה L עתה. This mistake may be ascribed by some to the pronunciation of the Ghain like the Greek Gamma. It is true the LXX represents the Ayin by Gamma in עתה, עתה, etc. but the Greek (properly) does not in the case of עתה. Nor does the Syriac use Gimel in



representing  $\text{נ}$ ,  $\text{ז}$ , or even  $\text{א}$  elsewhere. Also this view would not so well explain the two variations of Gimel/Ayin next to be considered. Reference to Codex A will show the similarity in form of  $\text{ג}$  and  $\text{א}$  especially in the initial position and it seems best to explain these mistakes as due to copyists.

- b) Initial Gimel/Ayin. 7:49  $\text{ג}$  /  $\text{א}$ . But cf. p.50 for discussion. 12:4  $\text{ג}$  /  $\text{א}$ . Cf. p.38 (c) where it was mentioned that the same man in 12:16 is called  $\text{ג}$ .

Kittel-Kahle notes that "many manuscripts" read this in 12:4 also. It seems to be the correct reading. The LXX omits the name except for  $\text{C}^{\text{sc.a.mg.sup.}}$  which reads  $\text{Γεννηθου}$  following the error of MT. Probably the Syriac also follows this error of MT reading originally, perhaps,  $\text{ܓܝܢܐ}$ . A few other examples of the Nun/Zayin variation will be given later, (p.55).

- c) Beth/ Yodh. 11:17  $\text{ב}$  /  $\text{י}$ . The reason for this variant is not clear, but it may be due to a copyist's error. Cf. p.38, where a Nun/Beth variant occurs in three cases. By a very similar error a Beth could become Yodh.

- d) Mem/ Ayin. 10:5  $\text{מ}$  /  $\text{א}$ . There seems to be no satisfactory explanation for this variant. Possibly there was a confusion of memory with the name  $\text{מֵי־עֵינַן}$ , but this only occurs 6 other times in MT and not in a context similar to this in Neh.10:5. In 7:28 the place  $\text{בֵּית־עֵינַן}$  is written  $\text{מֵי־עֵינַן}$ .



and in 12:33  $\text{לִי־לֵב}$  is  $\text{לֵב־לִי}$ . It seems that the explanation of  $\text{לִי־לֵב} / \text{לֵב־לִי}$  would not be difficult except for the Mem/Ayin variant which is not found elsewhere.

- e) Pesh/Shin 10:19  $\text{לִי־לֵב} / \text{לֵב־לִי}$  L  $\text{לֵב־לִי}$ . The derivation of the reading of A from that of L is not too difficult (Cf. the variations of the sibilants, p. 57). But the Pesh/Zayin shift is more of a problem. It is not without precedent (p. 45), but in this case we may think of interaction of this form with  $\text{לִי־לֵב}$  of the next verse.

The following miscellaneous mistakes occur only in L:

- f) Qoph/Teth 7:53  $\text{לִי־לֵב} / \text{לֵב־לִי}$  L  $\text{לֵב־לִי}$ .  
 g) Pesh/Tau 7:53  $\text{לִי־לֵב} / \text{לֵב־לִי}$  L  $\text{לֵב־לִי}$ .  
 h) Pesh/Mem 7:57  $\text{לִי־לֵב} / \text{לֵב־לִי}$  L  $\text{לֵב־לִי}$ .  
 i) Shin/Qoph 10:18  $\text{לִי־לֵב} / \text{לֵב־לִי}$  L  $\text{לֵב־לִי}$ .  
 j) Lamedh/Ayin 10:24  $\text{לִי־לֵב} / \text{לֵב־לִי}$  L  $\text{לֵב־לִי}$ . -A surprisingly rare error.

The following occur only in A and L is superior:

- k) Zayin/Yodh 3:15  $\text{לִי־לֵב} / \text{לֵב־לִי}$  L  $\text{לֵב־לִי}$ .  
 l) Nun/Zayin 3:18  $\text{לִי־לֵב} / \text{לֵב־לִי}$  L  $\text{לֵב־לִי}$ . The same man in 3:24 is  $\text{לִי־לֵב}$  and Kittel-Kahle notes that 2 Mss in 3:18 also read  $\text{לִי־לֵב}$ . GAL supports this. Probably we should replace the Nun in MT. In that case, L has the correct reading and the origin of the reading in A is a problem. There are, however, examples of a Nun/Zayin shift (p. 55) preserved by L. The name after metathesis was further  
 m) Ayin/Heth 3:18  $\text{לִי־לֵב} / \text{לֵב־לִי}$  L  $\text{לֵב־לִי}$ . Cf.  $\text{לִי־לֵב} / \text{לֵב־לִי}$  (e) above.  
 n) Shin/Ayin 12:8  $\text{לִי־לֵב} / \text{לֵב־לִי}$  L  $\text{לֵב־לִי}$ .

metathesis plus the Lamed/Pesh variant.



Still dealing with mistakes of the copyists we now take up those errors caused by a simple careless miswriting of what the scribe had probably seen and understood correctly. The errors to be considered here are not so numerous. They concern mistakes caused by metathesis and the petty omissions of letters. A few additions of letters by dittography and from miscellaneous causes are also to be considered.

# 1. Metathesis.

- a) 1:1 חֶלְכִיָּהּ / חֶלְכִיָּהּ . This name of Nehemiah's father also shows metathesis in G<sup>B</sup> χαλκία and in the V<sub>2</sub> Helchiae, but not in G<sup>NA</sup> Αχαλία. In 10:2 (also Nehemiah's father) חֶלְכִיָּהּ / חֶלְכִיָּהּ LXX Αχαλία. Cf. the common name of a different man חֶלְכִיָּהּ / חֶלְכִיָּהּ. Perhaps this error of 1:1 is more of a mistake of memory, confusing the names rather than a simple metathesis.
- b) 3:8 חֶלְכִיָּהּ / חֶלְכִיָּהּ . Cf. also 3:4 חֶלְכִיָּהּ / חֶלְכִיָּהּ and 8:5 חֶלְכִיָּהּ / חֶלְכִיָּהּ.
- c) 3:26 חֶלְכִיָּהּ / חֶלְכִיָּהּ . Cf. Mistakes of the Translators p. 113 for discussion.
- d) 7:49 חֶלְכִיָּהּ / חֶלְכִיָּהּ (Ezr. 2:46 חֶלְכִיָּהּ / חֶלְכִיָּהּ )
- e) 10:20 חֶלְכִיָּהּ / חֶלְכִיָּהּ L חֶלְכִיָּהּ. In Thorndike's collation the witness cited as "nostri" reads חֶלְכִיָּהּ.
- f) 11:7 חֶלְכִיָּהּ / חֶלְכִיָּהּ L חֶלְכִיָּהּ . Probably A has a form developed from the form preserved by L. The name after metathesis was further changed to yield the more common name.
- g) 12:17 חֶלְכִיָּהּ / חֶלְכִיָּהּ same man as 12:5 חֶלְכִיָּהּ / חֶלְכִיָּהּ .
- h) 11:17 חֶלְכִיָּהּ (חֶלְכִיָּהּ) / חֶלְכִיָּהּ . Metathesis plus the Daleth/Resh variant.



It is interesting to note that these errors, practically all of which are clearly copyists' errors of a common type, are shared by both A and L. Codex A, although old and relatively good, apparently had a long history of copying behind it.

## 2. Letters omitted.

- a) 3:8 Omission of the He חֶהְיָה / סָה, Kittel-Kahle notes that many Mss read חֶהְיָה. This is favored by G<sup>L</sup> Βαπαχίου (G<sup>EA</sup>N omit). We may add that the Syriac evidence would favor this reading as the omission of a Heth beside a Yodh is easily explainable; the omission of He, difficult.
- b) 7:53, The Yodh, יַעֲלָא / חַ As the preceding word ends in Yodh, this is doubtless a case of haplography.
- c) 9:5, The Nun, חֲשַׁבְנִיָּה / שַׁח. Because of the similarity in form of the Nun and Yodh, this could be regarded as an omission by haplography. on the other hand, the error may have arisen by confusion with the common name חֲשַׁבְנִיָּה / שַׁח. Cf. also 9:4 חֲשַׁבְנִיָּה / שַׁח and 8:5 חֲשַׁבְנִיָּה / שַׁח.
- d) 7:53, The Beth, בִּלְבָד / לִבִּי Only L has the error. Cf. 12:25 where in the same name a whole syllable was omitted: But in 12:9 and 11:17 it is correct:
- e) 10:20, The Ayin, אֶפְסֵי / אֶפְסֵי Thorndike lists as another variant: אֶפְסֵי Cf. above, p 41, for the metathesis.
- f) 10:24, The Heth, הַלְוִיָּה / אֶלֶם We might explain this readily as the omission of a guttural, for such sounds became indistinct in the passage of time, but other examples of such omission are few.



- a) 12:25, Initial Mem,  $\text{מֶמֶר} / \text{מֶמֶר}$ . This may be another name for the same man. EDB compares I Ch. 9:17  $\text{מֶמֶר}$ . The LXX in Nen. 12:25 omits except for G<sup>sc.a.mg.sup.</sup> which agrees with MT.

- n) 7:57, The Daleth,  $\text{דָּלֶת} / \text{דָּלֶת}$ .

### 3. Letters added by dittography or through miscellaneous causes.

The few cases of miscellaneous addition perhaps should not be classified here, but they too may be slips of the pen and for convenience' sake will be put with the other additions which are more easily explained.

- a) 7:52, Addition of the Tau,  $\text{טָו} / \text{טָו}$  Ezr. 2:50

has  $\text{טָו} / \text{טָו}$  The reason for this addition is not at all clear. The Greek witness is:  $\text{G}^B \text{Μεσετωμ} \text{G}^N \text{Μεσσετωμ} \text{G}^A \text{Μεετωμ}$  were

Perhaps the Sigma and the Tau reflect some common name unknown to us.

- b) 11:5 and 12, The Zayin,  $\text{זַיִן} / \text{זַיִן}$  This may have been originally

a case of addition of Daleth by dittography with a subsequent shift

from Daleth to Zayin. Cf. p.44 for the Daleth/Zayin variant. Also

we should notice two instances of similar mistreatment of these

letters in close association: 11:15  $\text{זַיִן} / \text{זַיִן}$  and 3:23  $\text{זַיִן} / \text{זַיִן}$ .

as may learn from the Elephantine

- c) 11:10 & 11 (one verse, text confused), The Caph,  $\text{כָּף} / \text{כָּף}$

- d) 11:12, The Resh,  $\text{רֶשֶׁת} / \text{רֶשֶׁת}$  This addition, too, is difficult,

but it may have been caused by the fact that this word occurs in a

series using  $\text{רֶשֶׁת}$  six times. An extra final Resh may have been

carelessly inserted from the context. These may be specially noted.



- e) 10:8; 11:10 & 11; 12:1,12, The Beth,  $\text{בְּ} / \text{בֵּ}$  L  $\text{בֵּ}$ . The regularity of this mistake - only in L - shows that it is not a mere slip, but a confusion with the common name  $\text{בֵּת}$  by a copyist of L.
- f) 11:22, The Beth,  $\text{בְּ} / \text{בֵּ}$ . This insertion of Beth does not seem to be like the above instances. The explanation is obscure.
- g) 12:5, The Resh,  $\text{רֶשֶׁת} / \text{רֶשֶׁת}$ , Probably this Resh was originally a Daleth added by dittography.
- h) 10:22, The Nun,  $\text{נֶחֱמֶה} / \text{נֶחֱמֶה}$ . Doubtless a case of dittography.

### C. Mistakes of Speech.

Here we class those variants introduced by copyists who were more familiar with other forms of speech and of pronunciation than those given in the text they were copying. Dialectal peculiarities of scribes will reflect themselves in variations of this type and also dialectal peculiarities of the originals will be obscured by the scribes' tendency to avoid what was unfamiliar to himself. There are not so many errors that can be classified here with certainty.

1. Variations of Daleth and Zayin. As we may learn from the Elephantine papyri, the treatment of these letters was not uniform in the pre-Christian centuries and it appears that it still was not uniform in the period of translation and transmission of our text. The best proof that copyists interchanged these letters because of their phonetic similarity is the variants occurring between the L and A texts. These will be specially noted.



- a) 7:31 זַיִן / זַיִן (Ezr. 2:49, same name, זַיִן).
- b) 7:58 זַיִן / זַיִן (Ezr. 2:56, same name, זַיִן).
- c) 11:2 זַיִן / זַיִן, This instance is not clear (Cf. p.44), but at least it probably illustrates the Zayin/Daleth shift.

In the following cases only L illustrates the shift:

- d) 12:42 זַיִן / זַיִן L זַיִן. but in Ezr. 2:42 and 1 Chr. 9:17
- e) 7:62 זַיִן / זַיִן L זַיִן. This instance is particularly interesting because Zayin does not occur in MT at all. It may have been written by the translators as a result of misreading the Nun (cf. p.55 for further examples of this), but in any case L has the further shift to Daleth. In 7:50 both A and L have for this name.

In the following case only A shows the shift:

- f) 11:13 זַיִן / זַיִן L זַיִן.

Less clear are the following instances:


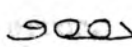
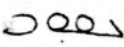
- g) 11:5 זַיִן / זַיִן L זַיִן. We may say that L agrees in the shift to Daleth, but carries it on by a further error to Resh.
- h) 7:28 and 12:29, really a shift from Zayin to Resh, but like the preceding it may be via the Daleth זַיִן / זַיִן (7:28 has זַיִן; ). Cf. the discussion of 10:5 זַיִן / זַיִן on p 39).

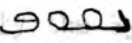
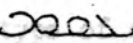
- i) Miscellaneous. The following examples, probably related, have already been cited (pp.40 and 43): זַיִן / זַיִן. The LXX supports the Hebrew in 12:17 and 12:41 where the major MSS. omit, but זַיִן / זַיִן.


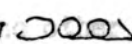
has Bezaevangel. This latter is poor LXX witness and

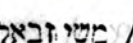

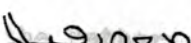


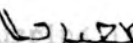

2. Variations of Beth and Pe. There are not as many instances of this variation as we might expect considering the similar sound of these letters. Note the different treatment of the same name in various passages.



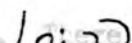
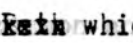
a) 7:45; 8:8; 12:25  /  In 11:19 it is 

In Ezr. 2:45 it is  but in Ezr. 2:42 and 1 Chr. 9:17 it is written  by confusion with the name of the patriarch.

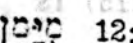
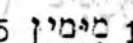
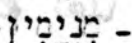
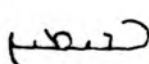
In Gen.  is regularly  parallels.

b) 10:21  /  similarly in 11:24 

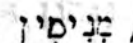
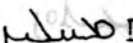
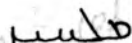
but note 3:4 where it is  L  In that passage quite possibly the Caph comes from an original Beth.

c) 7:59  /  L  It would seem that the reading of A developed from the reading  which is preserved in L, by metathesis.

3. Variations of Beth and Mem. This mistake is quite like the one above as the confusion is between two labials which are related in pronunciation. Again, however, the variations are rare. It may possibly not be due to phonetic similarity at all, but to confusion with similar and more common names.

a) 10:7  12:5  12:17 (same man as 12:5)  - all 

The only other occurrence of this name in Nehemiah is

12:41  /  L  The LXX supports the Hebrew

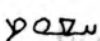
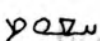
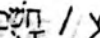
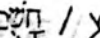
except in 12:17 and 12:41 where the major Mss. omit, but

G<sup>C.A.Mg.</sup> has Βενιαμιν. This latter is poor LXX witness and

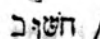
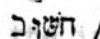






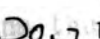
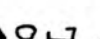
doubtless is an error of confusion with the name of the patriarch. Quite likely the Syriac error is due to the same cause. Perhaps the similarity in sound of the Eeth and Mem assisted in causing the error. The error of 12:41 is interesting. Probably the Syriac Heth is an inner error for Nun/Yodh, a type of error amply illustrated above (p.35f).


The Lamedh for Mem has no other parallels.

- b) 3:11  / . This also may be a confusion with the rather common name  /  occurring in 8:5; 10:19; and 7:22.

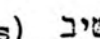
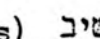

4. Variations of Eeth and Ayin. It is probable that these mistakes also should be considered here. There is considerable difference between A and L. The confusion is not very common and probably the similarity of these names to more common ones aided in causing the errors.




- a) 10:23; 11:15  / . Cf. also 3:23  / .

- b) 12:19  / . The same man in 12:6 is  L .

Cf. the change of the same name in another direction to: .

See above, p 63.

- c) 3:20, 21 (bis)  /  L . Only L has the error as in 3:23 above.

- d) 12:16  /  L . An odd occurrence, discussed above (p38).



# D. Mistakes of the Memory.

The only mistakes that seem to have been made in the names which should be classified here is the free variation of the Divine elements on the ends of the names. We may compare the tendency to change  $\text{יהוה}$  to  $\text{יה}$  (cf. p.119).

## 1. Freedom of the use of the Divine elements.

### a) Addition of the element -Yah

11:9  $\text{יהוה} / \text{יהוה}$

7:54  $\text{יהוה} / \text{יהוה}$

8:8; 10:10  $\text{יהוה} / \text{יהוה}$

12:13  $\text{יהוה}$  (not Ezra the scribe) /  $\text{יהוה}$

12:5  $\text{יהוה} / \text{יהוה}$ . But 12:18, the same man  $\text{יהוה} / \text{יהוה}$ .

### b) Deletion of the final -Yah

12:41  $\text{יהוה} / \text{יהוה}$

11:17; 12:9  $\text{יהוה} / \text{יהוה}$

### c) Shortening of the initial element -יהוה. This is not a mistake or irregularity for every name in Nehemiah which begins thus is shortened to $\text{יה}$ and partial examination of the rest of the Peshitta would seem to indicate that this was the usual practice of the translators. Nöldeke<sup>2</sup> gives examples of this tendency of an intervocalic He to drop out in expression and in the script - a tendency present also in Hebrew which often shortened this element to -י' in Hebrew speech.



1) Change of position of the element -Yah

~~11:10~~; 11:10/11 נְחֵמְיָהּ / יָהוּ

e) Interchange of the elements -Yah and -El

12:26 נְחֵמְיָהּ (the governor) / יָהוּ cf. 7:7 נְחֵמְיָהּ / יָהוּ

12:33 עֲזַרְיָהּ / יָהוּ

12:24 חֲשִׁבְיָהּ / יָהוּ. This has been mentioned above (i) p 66.

10:9; 12:8 יְדִי'אֵל / יָהוּ. This change is the reverse of the above three instances. In 9:4,5; 7:43 12:24 it is יָהוּ. The

name only occurs in these instances and once in Ezra. There is

no name יְדִי'אֵל in the Old Testament. In Ezr. 2:40 it is

יְדִי'אֵל / יָהוּ. Hawley discusses this instance<sup>3</sup> attributing

the error to a careless copying in which the final Lamedh was

lost. But it is not so simple because the names ending in -יָהוּ-

(which are few in Nehemiah) are transcribed almost every time

with the ending יָהוּ -not just יָהוּ-. Also Hawley's suggestion

would not at all fit the above cases of -Yah changing to -El.

It seems to do justice better to the whole situation better

to posit a free variation of the Divine elements.

f) Other instances of irregularity in treatment of final Lamedh. 5


(These are noted for comparison with the change of the element יָהוּ-)

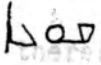
11:27 שִׁנְעַל / יָהוּ this also in § Ch.4:28. The




other two instances of its use (Jos.15:28; 19:3) have יָהוּ לִי.


(3) op.cit. p 25



The word for "fox" in Syriac is spelled with a Tau. The Syriac root  is not common and means "to cough" which would not

seem to be a suitable name.  however, means "hill" and this suitable meaning may have something to do with the mistake in this particular name.



7:49  /  In Ezr. 2:47 and Neh. 7:58 . In



Ezr. 2:56 . As previously mentioned (p 68) the change of





initial Gimel to Ayin is not without precedent and is doubtless

an inner error of the Syriac. The change of final Lamedh to


Aleph is not so easy. Possibly the name was changed because of

another similar one nearby. In 7:51 we have  / 

whereas in 7:49 the phrase is  / .

7:59  /  L  (Ezr. 2:57 ). This

variation is probably caused by attraction to the similar name




which immediately precedes,  which certainly has influenced

the reading of L. It is doubtful, therefore, whether this or

the previous two instances give us much information concerning

a special tendency of the final Lamedh to be lost, as Hawley's

view suggests. Ezr. 2:48  / . Again the LXX supports

3:24  /  L . It would seem that the error of

A here illustrated is a simple slip of the pen, a kind of haplography.

For instance, 3<sup>E</sup> in I Ch. 1 and 2 has only two misreadings of  
in and fresh out of over 500 names - one sixth the frequency of this  
in the Peshitta of Hebrew.



## II. Variations from the Massoretic Text due to the Translators

### A. Errors of the eye.

In this category will naturally fall those confusions of letters which look similar in Hebrew and were therefore apt to be mistaken in transcription. As remarked above the same thing was done by the LXX translators, but not so frequently.<sup>4</sup>

1. Variations of Resh and Daleth. Nine cases were listed above as more probably due to copyists. The remaining examples of this frequent variation will be listed here. Reference to the Elephantine Papyri will show how easily one of these letters could be misread for the other. They are similar enough in printed Hebrew texts to confuse beginners.

- a) 3:6 דַּלֶּת / דַּלֶּת
- b) 3:8 דַּלֶּת / דַּלֶּת Cf. discussion above, (a) p 71.
- c) 3:10 דַּלֶּת / דַּלֶּת
- d) 7:18 דַּלֶּת / דַּלֶּת, Ezr. 2:13 has דַּלֶּת / דַּלֶּת
- e) 7:42 דַּלֶּת / דַּלֶּת Ezr. 2:39 has דַּלֶּת / דַּלֶּת
- f) 7:47 דַּלֶּת / דַּלֶּת Ezr. 2:44 דַּלֶּת / דַּלֶּת Although the Peshitta reads Resh in both places there is no question about the correctness of MT. The LXX supports MT both in Ezr. and Neh.
- g) 7:50 דַּלֶּת / דַּלֶּת Ezr. 2:48 דַּלֶּת / דַּלֶּת. Again the LXX supports MT in both passages. The famous king of Syria in Isaiah's day is always written דַּלֶּת.

(4) For instance, גֵּ in I Ch. 1 and 2 has only two misreadings of Daleth and Resh out of over 500 names - one sixth the frequency of this error in the Peshitta of Nehemiah.



10:1 עֲבָרָה / עֲבָרָה The variation of Daleth/Resh here may have some explanation other than a simple misreading of the letters. There are other instances of the variation of Sadhe/Zayin and a few of the Qoph/Heth, but they are rare and it is a good oit to posit three such mistakes in one word. However no other explanation seems to be available. The name <sup>5</sup>עֲבָרָה is rare.

- i) 10:5 עֲבָרָה / עֲבָרָה L עֲבָרָה  
 j) 10:9 הַנֶּדֶד / הַנֶּדֶד The same name in 3:18 is הַנֶּדֶד L הַנֶּדֶד  
 In 3:24 and in the Syriac only of 3:30 it is הַנֶּדֶד L הַנֶּדֶד  
 k) 10:10 and 18 הַנֶּדֶד / הַנֶּדֶד but 8:8; 9:5; & 10:13 have הַנֶּדֶד  
 The change of initial He to Aleph is natural for Syriac<sup>5</sup>, but it is not consistently followed.

- l) 11:5 יִזְרְיִים / יִזְרְיִים Cf. 12:6 יִזְרְיִים / יִזְרְיִים L יִזְרְיִים  
 and 12:19 (same man as 12:6) יִזְרְיִים Q These are also instances of the Daleth/Resh variation regardless of their other errors.

- m) 11:17 עֲבָרָה / עֲבָרָה In Nenenxian, Kittel-Kahle several has reading  
 n) 11:17 יִזְרְיִים (יִזְרְיִים) / יִזְרְיִים Doubtless this also is a shift from Daleth to Resh combined with metathesis.

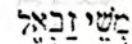
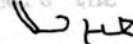
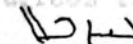
- o) 11:29 עֲבָרָה / עֲבָרָה  
 p) 11:25 יִזְרְיִים / יִזְרְיִים Kittel-Kahle notes that several has read it with  
 q) 11:30 עֲבָרָה / עֲבָרָה L עֲבָרָה For the change of Ayin to Aleph cf. p. 60.

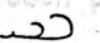
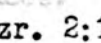
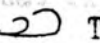
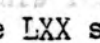
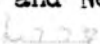
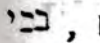
- r) 12:15 עֲבָרָה / עֲבָרָה here is not too clear. Further light comes  
 s) 12:20 עֲבָרָה / עֲבָרָה L עֲבָרָה The LXX omits except G<sup>sc.a.mg.inf.</sup> Αβερ  
 Kittel says: G עֲבָרָה, but the Greek witness is poor. The Vg says Heber.  
 Doubtless MT is correct.


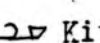
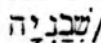



One is struck by the large number of mistakes of this nature - 24 are here listed and 9 more on p.38. Also we should note that the LXX never supports the Peshitta, except possibly for the poor witness of (s) above. Although the LXX translators occasionally misread a Daleth of Pesh, their errors were never as numerous as this. Either the Hebrew manuscripts used by the Peshitta translators of Nehemiah were quite poor or the translator was very careless in his reading of them.

2. Variations of Caph and Beth. These variations are surprisingly few considering the similarity of these two letters in both scripts. It may be remarked (cf. p.78) that the preposition Caph is never mistaken for Beth. Of the names listed below, the Syriac form may be correct in one or two instances.

a) 3:4  /  L  Cf. discussion on p.46.

b) 7:16  /  Ezr. 2:11  /  The LXX supports MT in both Ezr. and Neh. In Nehemiah, Kittel-Kahle several Mss reading  The LXX supports MT which is doubtless , but this only illustrates the ease with which these two letters could be mistaken for each other. MT is clearly right.

c) 9:5  /  Kittel-Kahle notes that several Mss read it with Caph. The LXX omits. The Vg. reads Beth with MT. The evidence as to the true reading here is not too clear. Further light comes from 9:4 which probably mentions the same man  / . Kittel-Kahle notes here that a great many Mss read Caph. As to the LXX,



...the original reading was this: *Ḥayyānā* *Ḥayyānā*.

The Syriac reading *Ḥayyānā* in 3:4 can be discounted, for it probably

comes from the name *Ḥayyānā* in vs. 5. Also the reading *Ḥayyānā*

surely comes from the following name *Ḥayyānā*. We have then MT and the

Vg. reading Beth in both verses. Scattered Mss. of the Hebrew read

Caph in one verse or the other. The Syriac reads Caph in one verse

and in the other verse probably its witness fails. The Greek reads

Caph in the opposite verse and omits the other passage. The evidence

is inconclusive, but it seems possible that MT has erred in this

place by a confusion which is easily made in the Hebrew.

- d) 12:14 *Ḥayyānā* / *Ḥayyānā* Kittel-Kahle notes that a great many Mss read

Caph. The LXX omits except for G<sup>L</sup> which reads it as Caph. The same

man is mentioned in 12:3 where the name is spelled with a Caph, thus:

*Ḥayyānā* / *Ḥayyānā* Here the LXX agrees in the reading Caph. The Vg.

reads as Beth in both places. It seems that in this instance we must

correct MT in 12:14 and read Caph. This, therefore is not a Syriac error.

- e) 10:12 *Ḥayyānā* / *Ḥayyānā* The LXX supports MT which is doubtless

correct. The Syriac erred because of the presence of the similar

name in vs. 10.

- f) 10:10 *Ḥayyānā* / *Ḥayyānā* Kittel-Kahle notes that a great many Mss read

a Caph, and G<sup>L</sup> also reads it as Caph, but G<sup>EA</sup> read it as Beth and

doubtless MT is correct. The confusions of these two common names

was obviously easy for all copyists and translators!



3. Variations of Nun and Zayin. There are not many of these variations, but the ones that do occur would seem to be due to the translators. in the Hebrew script of the early days of our era the Nun and Zayin resembled each other much more than they do in the Syriac script.

a) 7:13 ננל / ללל But cf. 10:14 ננל / לל

b) 12:4 ננל / לל See above (b) p 38 for discussion.

4. Variations of Nun and Daleth. These few variations are not clear.

Possibly the Nun to Daleth shift of the first example was originally

a misreading of the Nun as Zayin with a further shift to Daleth.

Cf. above p 74. But the Daleth to Nun shift could not be thus explained.

a) 7:50 ננל / לל Ezr. 2:48 ננל - לל

7:52 ננל / לל Ezr. 2:50 ננל / לל

The name only occurs these four places. The various treatment of may have influenced the Syriac of 12:12. The LXX supports MT. the Nun would favor the above explanation, but other factors may be involved.

b) 3:32 ננל / לל Probably this instance should not be relied upon to illustrate a Nun/Daleth shift. Unlike the other examples

this is not a personal name, but the name of one of the gates

of Jerusalem. "Exit gate" may simply be a free rendering. On

the other hand there may have been an inner Syriac error caused

by the similarity of לל and לל

The LXX omits both except for G which agrees with

both places, as does also the Vg. It is probably impossible to

in which instance MT erred. At least it was before the Syriac

Ezr. 2:48

(7) op.cit. p 38



## 3. Variations due to Dialectic and Linguistic Causes.

As we class here these variations which are merely matters of variations of style between the Hebrew and Syriac. They are not to be considered as errors, usually, but are the natural result of transcribing the names from one language into another. Yet the resulting changes are not consistently applied for any Syriacizing that was done was apparently more or less unconscious.

### 1. Variations in the use of the Prosthetic Aleph.<sup>6</sup>

- a) 7:45; 11:13  $\text{עֲלֵינוּ}$  ( $\text{עֲלֵינוּ}$ ) /  $\text{עֲלֵנוּ}$  B.D.B. argues that this is an Aramaic name. In 12:25 it has the Aleph, but not the ending:  $\text{עֲלֵנוּ}$
- b) 3:3; 7:36  $\text{יְהוָה}$  /  $\text{יְהוֹה}$  (This is the standard form in Joshua, etc.)
- c) 12:12  $\text{יְהוָה}$  /  $\text{יְהוֹה}$  But cf. the frequent  $\text{יְהוָה}$  /  $\text{יְהוֹה}$  which may well have influenced the Syriac of 12:12. The LXX supports MT.
- d) 7:46  $\text{צִיָּה}$  /  $\text{צִיָּה}$  This name in 11:21  $\text{צִיָּה}$ , is omitted in the Syriac. But the spelling in 11:21 would seem to indicate that it did not have an initial consonant cluster and therefore should not properly have had a prosthetic Aleph.
- e) 7:47  $\text{קִיָּה}$  /  $\text{קִיָּה}$  Here too the Aleph seems unnecessary.
- f) 10:25  $\text{רִחִים}$  /  $\text{רִחִים}$  Also 3:17  $\text{רִחִים}$  /  $\text{רִחִים}$  Nöldeke remarks particularly of the use of the Aleph before initial Resh.<sup>7</sup>

(6) Cf. Nöldeke "Syr. Gram." p 35

(7) op.cit. p 35



12:42 This variation is particularly interesting as a case of dropping the Aleph (which here is not actually prosthetic) in contrast to usual Syriac practice. The name occurs many times in the Old Testament and is usually transcribed ; ܐܠܐ In Ezr. 10:25 also the Aleph is dropped. The inconsistent treatment of the name would seem to argue that it may have been done by a copyist. Note that in the Peshitta New Testament the name transcribed from the Greek is regularly ; ܠܟܬ The LXX of Neh. 12:42 omits, but in Ezr. 10:25 it is Ελεαζαρ. What we observe is probably a back influence of this prominent New Testament name on the Old Testament Peshitta. On this view, it would be a slip of the memory of a Christian copyist (Cf. also p. 60 (b)).

2. Variations of the Sibilants. These variations are caused by the similarity of sound of the various sibilants. We may only wonder that there were not more such variations. In the great majority of cases the transliterations are exact. Nöldeke<sup>8</sup> gives rules for the partial assimilation of certain consonants, especially sibilants, to the following consonants. He says this tendency was particularly marked in the reading of the Scriptures but "in the writing these variations are seen only in occasional traces." A voiced consonant like Zayin will become voiceless, thus a Samech, before a voiceless consonant like Tau. On the other hand a Samech before Taleth will be pronounced Zayin. Probably some of the following variations are to be explained thus.

(8) Syr. Gram. p 14. He says "In der Schrift zeigen sich von diesen Veränderungen nur einzelne Spuren."



a) 2:1  $\text{שָׁרָיָה}$  /  $\text{שָׁרָיָה}$  but elsewhere  $\text{שָׁרָיָה}$  /  $\text{שָׁרָיָה}$  The voiced Sadeh influenced the Sadhe, but only in the one case.

b) 12:26  $\text{שָׁרָיָה}$  /  $\text{שָׁרָיָה}$  This is the only occurrence in Nehemiah, but in the numerous occurrences in Ezr., Hagg., and Zech. it is also written  $\text{שָׁרָיָה}$  /  $\text{שָׁרָיָה}$  However in 1 Ch. 5:40 and 41 it is  $\text{שָׁרָיָה}$  /  $\text{שָׁרָיָה}$ . The name does not occur elsewhere.

c) 2:1; 5:14; 13:6  $\text{שָׁרָיָה}$  /  $\text{שָׁרָיָה}$  Note the form of the Elephantine Papyri  $\text{שָׁרָיָה}$ .

d) 11:13  $\text{שָׁרָיָה}$  /  $\text{שָׁרָיָה}$  Apparently MT struggled with the individual "Assur" in Gen 10:22 is written the name as did the Syriac text tradition. It would seem that the double sibilant is erroneous. The LXX uses only one Sigma for the name, but the Greek transliteration may not be too significant. Noth calls it "A combination of both orthographic variants 'שָׁרָיָה' and 'שָׁרָיָה'." 9

e) 7:47  $\text{שָׁרָיָה}$  /  $\text{שָׁרָיָה}$  Ezr. 2:44 has  $\text{שָׁרָיָה}$  miscopying Lamedh for Ayin. We know nothing about this name. It occurs only here.

f) 8:8  $\text{שָׁרָיָה}$  /  $\text{שָׁרָיָה}$  But cf. the common  $\text{שָׁרָיָה}$  /  $\text{שָׁרָיָה}$ .

g) 7:51  $\text{שָׁרָיָה}$  /  $\text{שָׁרָיָה}$  The proximity of the Pe may have been the influence causing the change in the sibilant.

-----

(9) M. Noth Die israelitischen Personennamen, (Stuttgart 1928) p. 253 ("Kombination der beiden orthographischen Varianten 'שָׁרָיָה' und 'שָׁרָיָה'").

(10) 10:1  $\text{שָׁרָיָה}$  /  $\text{שָׁרָיָה}$  Quite dubious because of the triple error.




















3. Variations of Consonants which customarily shift according to phonetic law between Hebrew and Syriac.

- a) Cophn/Ayin 7:58 𐤒𐤓𐤍 / 𐤒𐤓; Ezr. 2:58 𐤒𐤓; L This seems to be really a misapplication of the later variation between Coph and Ayin within Aramaic. The name does not occur elsewhere.
- b) Shin/Tau 9:32 𐤑𐤕𐤍 / 𐤑𐤕 The name of the kingdom of Assyria is written thus in Ezr. 4:2; 6:22; Gen. 2:14; 10:1j etc. but the individual "Assur" in Gen.10:22 is written









4. Miscellaneous confusions of similar sounding consonants. doubtless

- a) Tau/Teth 2:1; 5:14:13:6 טת/טת / טת; Cf. above p31  
Confusion of this sort is expected with a foreign name.
- b) Final Nun/Mem 3:15 נ/מ / נ; LXX omits. Cf. 3:12 נ/מ / נ; Kahle  
Kittel notes that in 3:15 several Mss read נ and E.D.P. suggests  
that נ should be read in 3:15 as well as in 3:12.  
The two names are of different men, however. Vg. reads Siloe.
- c) Fe/Mem 7:24 פ/מ / פ; אפס GA Apsu The parallel  
in Ezr. 2:18 seems to be פ / א; It hardly seems necessary  
to posit a mistake in MT here. More likely there is an influence  
of the common name פ / א which could have affected GA also.
- d) Pe/Mem 3:9 פ/מ / פ; This is probably a better example of  
the confusion of the two labials because of their similar sound.
- e) Qoph/Heth 10:1 ק/ח / ק; Quite dubious because of the triple  
error.



- d) Heth/Daghn 10:11  /  Cf. above p 43 for the Resh.
- e) Aleph/Ayin 11:12  /  Cf. above p 43 for the Resh.
- n) Ayin/Aleph 11:30  /  Like the above, a confusion of the laryngeals.
- i) Nun/Lamedh 11:30  /  The Peshitta nowhere else treats the name of the famous valley of refuse this way. Usually it is: 
- j) Nun/Lamedh 2:13  /  This example may argue that the confusion is due to a copyist since the two texts disagree. The reference is to the "dragon well".
- k) Lamedh/Nun 11:12  /  The form of L doubtless developed from that of A by haplography of the stroke for Nun and further confusion of Lamedh and Ayin. Cf. also 8:8 which is  /  and 10:10  /  This last variation has no ready explanation.

5. Treatment of Final Nun. In several cases the ending  $\bar{n}$  is either added or dropped. This ending seems to be preferred by the Syriac more than by the Hebrew. It is cited by Nöth<sup>10</sup> as a diminutive ending and is called the same by Noldeke.<sup>11</sup>

- a) Nun Added 9:10  /  (thus regularly also in Ex.)  
7:57, 60; 11:3; 12:45  /  (so usually elsewhere in the Old Testament.)
- b) Nun Dropped 4:2  /  The name of the city only occurs here in Nehemiah. Elsewhere it is usually  In the New Testament the usual form is  Cf. the

(10) op.cit. p 38

(11) Syr. Gram. p 73



remarks on p. 57 concerning יָדָה .

c) Nun Dropped, 12:25 נִינְהָ / נִינְהָ Cf. above p.56 (a) for the Aleph.

8:7 נִינְהָ / נִינְהָ The Nun is similarly lost in this gentilic.

### 3. Miscellaneous Syricizing of Names.

a) נִינְהָ -By a partial assimilation this name is always written

נִינְהָ or נִינְהָ except 6:12 and 13:28: נִינְהָ

b) נִינְהָ -In 11:28, the only occurrence in Nehemiah, it is נִינְהָ

and it is written thus also in all the other 12 places

in the Bible.

c) נִינְהָ -In 11:32 written נִינְהָ which is the usual transcription of נִינְהָ.

Perhaps here there is a problem of MT. Kittel-Kahle notes

the Ben Hayyim Bible had נִינְהָ which may be an orthographic

variant, merely. It seems clear that this town mentioned

in close connection with Bethel is the well-known town of

Ai which is always used in MT with the article. Possibly

the translator understood the final He or Aleph to be the

Aramaic definite state and therefore disregarded it as the

Syriac usually disregards the Hebrew article of נִינְהָ.

d) Names with Aleph for initial Yodh. Cf. Naldecke<sup>12</sup> for explanation

of this tendency. He remarks that the prefixing of the

Aleph was more common in early times than later.

10:2; 12:12 יִנְהָ / יִנְהָ

11:7 יִנְהָ / יִנְהָ Cf. the frequent יִנְהָ / יִנְהָ

12:42 יִנְהָ / יִנְהָ But for the contrary, 10:9 יִנְהָ / יִנְהָ

(12) Syr. Gram. p.26.



c. Variations due to Erroneous Translations of Names.

1. Errors involving the consonants 'נ'.

a) 8:8 וַיִּשְׁעוּ וַיִּבְנוּ וַיִּשְׁכְּנוּ / (G xai Bavaria) סוֹכְנוֹן סוֹכְנוֹן

The extra pronoun in the Syriac may be just a freedom of the translator, or it may be that he read the Waw of וְשִׁבְיָהּ on the end of וַיֵּן and then supplied a conjunction.

שם סוף משה / קדש שבח / וישועה גדולה / שבחיה פני / שרביה פני / בנני 9:4 b)

Γ<sup>E</sup> Ἰηρουσ και υιοι Καδμιηλ Σαραβια υιος Αραβια.  
 Γ<sup>K</sup> is quite similar but reads Σαραδία and has the last phrase  
 υιος Σαραβια where Γ<sup>E</sup> has dropped one of the Sigmas.

GA however is almost identical to MT, except that it too translates every occurrence of 'ו'. Note that the Syriac added an extra and supplied appropriate conjunctions in the series in order to secure the regularity of which it was fond.

c) 10:10 Here the reverse occurs with a common noun being taken for a name: הַנָּדָב הַזֶּה / הַזֶּה הַנָּדָב EXX Βασιλευ απο των Ηναδαβ.

d) 10:13 חוֹדֵה בְּנֵי בְנֵי / are likely the translators understood it as

G<sup>A</sup> Σόουα υιοι Βανουαίαι G<sup>EN</sup> Σόουμ υιοι Βενιαμιν

e) 10:14 and 15 אֲנִי יְהוָה / וְאֵין עִמָּי אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים

G<sup>E</sup> Ζαθουια υιοι Βασι, Ασγαδ Βηδαι, Εδανια G<sup>EX</sup> subatantially the same.

The Syriac has rather wilfully treated the text, dropping one 'DE altogether and misreading 'DE in such a way as to get a

regular series.

regular series. The Methinim are discussed by Allen, ICI Ezra and Nehemiah p. 87, 88. He lists it as "slightly probable that they were a branch of the Levitical tribe." His remarks about the lists of names of the Methinim that were at 2:58 do not occur elsewhere and adds "Virtually we have a list of peculiar names...The foreign element in the names is a serious cult."



- c) 12:3 ܠܝܚܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ / ΛΙΧΑΙΡΟΥ ΜΑΡΟΥ ΚΑΘΜΙΛΑ  
 d) 12:24 ܠܝܚܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ / ΛΙΧΑΙΡΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΟΙΟΙ ΚΑΘΜΙΛΑ ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΙ ΑΥΤΩΝ.

One is struck by the number of these variations and also by the fact that the Peshitta seldom agrees with the LXX in a variation, except that both versions frequently translate the consonants ܠܝܚܐ when MT takes them as a proper name. The Syriac never is preferable to MT, but usually shows a regularity artificially secured. It is interesting that several of these variations concern Joshua and Kadmiel. The Syriac translators may have unconsciously harmonized the phrases mentioning these men.

## 2. Misinterpretations of guild names.

- a) 11:35 ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ / ΛΙΧΑΙΡΟΥ Probably ܠܝܚܐ is simply a mistake for ܠܝܚܐ used elsewhere to translate ܠܝܚܐ. We have noted that the confusion of Heth and Yodh is quite common as an inner Syriac error. With regard to ܕܡܪܝܢܐ, if this is a guild name for "craftsmen" (so J.P.S.), the Syriac equivalent would be ܠܝܚܐ. But more likely the translators understood it as "forest" ܕܡܪܝܢܐ, Aram: ܕܡܪܝܢܐ. The meaning "forest" was chosen in 7:61 where A has a translation and L does not: ܕܡܪܝܢܐ / ΛΙΧΑΙΡΟΥ  
 L ܠܝܚܐ Also in Ezr. 2:59 this name is ΛΙΧΑΙΡΟΥ  
 b) The Nethinim.<sup>13</sup> ܕܡܪܝܢܐ is treated as a gentilic and written ܠܝܚܐ in 4 out of 9 instances. In 7:45 it is ܠܝܚܐ. In 10:28

(13) The Nethinim are discussed by Eatten, ICC Ezra and Nehemiah p 87, 88. He regards it as "highly probable that they were a branch of the Levitical body." He remarks about the lists of names of the Nethinim that many (26 out of 35) do not occur elsewhere and adds "Virtually we have a long list of peculiar names...The foreign element in the names is a serious difficulty."



it is ~~in~~ In 11:6 it is ~~in~~ In 11:21 there are two occurrences of the word, but the context is confused. These translations are easily understandable in a time when the exact functions of this class of temple servants was no longer known. The LXX transliterates when it does not omit the word.

e) The Tirshatha. ~~תִּרְשָׁתָא~~ is twice translated ~~תִּרְשָׁתָא~~, ~~תִּרְשָׁתָא~~ (7:65, 70).

The plural is certain because a plural verb is used. In these passages no individual is named as the Tirshatha and the translators apparently envisaged a kind of Sanhedrim or presbytery. The parallel in Ezr. 2:63 says ~~תִּרְשָׁתָא~~, ~~תִּרְשָׁתָא~~; In the other two instances Nehemiah is named as the Tirshatha and he is called in 8:9 ~~תִּרְשָׁתָא~~, ~~תִּרְשָׁתָא~~; in 10:1 ~~תִּרְשָׁתָא~~ ~~תִּרְשָׁתָא~~; ~~תִּרְשָׁתָא~~ ~~תִּרְשָׁתָא~~ with ~~תִּרְשָׁתָא~~ and ~~תִּרְשָׁתָא~~ ~~תִּרְשָׁתָא~~; probably as doublets. Hawley's

<sup>14</sup>  
remark on Ezr. 2:63 applies also to Nehemiah: "This is an unsuccessful attempt to explain a Persian word (tirshatha) which the translator did not know." Notice, however that the translator of Nehemiah was inconsistent in his interpretation. The LXX transliterates in various ways, but omits the last two references. Eatten remarks on the word <sup>15</sup>"The word is Persian,

Tarshata, but the exact definition is not clear. Moss regards it as referring to a royal commissioner ...Meyer holds that it is not the name of an office like governor, but rather a title "his Excellency"...or "his Reverence".

(14) op.cit. p 29

(15) op.cit. p 97



### 3. Miscellaneous instances.

- a) 7:61  $\text{LXX} \text{ } \text{H}\rho\omega\nu \text{ } \text{I}\epsilon\mu\eta\eta$  The parallel in Ezr. 2:59 is  $\text{LXX} \text{ } \text{H}\rho\omega\nu \text{ } \text{I}\epsilon\mu\eta\eta$  Possibly  $\text{I}\epsilon\mu\eta\eta$  was first mistaken for the Aramaic  $\text{I}\epsilon\mu\eta\eta$  which was read  $\text{I}\epsilon\mu\eta\eta$  in Ezra and  $\text{I}\epsilon\mu\eta\eta$  in Nehemiah (cf. 4:15 where  $\text{I}\epsilon\mu\eta\eta$  is  $\text{I}\epsilon\mu\eta\eta$  but  $\text{L} \text{ } \text{I}\epsilon\mu\eta\eta$ ).

The original consonants are probably as in Ezra  $\text{I}\epsilon\mu\eta\eta$ ,  $\text{I}\epsilon\mu\eta\eta$ , but

MT and LXX are doubtless correct in taking them as names.

- b) 12:8  $\text{LXX} \text{ } \text{ἐπὶ τῶν χειρῶν}$  The form is  $\text{ἐπὶ τῶν χειρῶν}$ . Such variations are the addition of prosthetic Aleph, admittedly difficult, but the Syriac is surely not justified in getting rid of the difficulty so easily. Note the Syriac also omits the preceding  $\text{ἐπὶ}$  in order to read the form as a proper name.
- c) 12:42  $\text{LXX} \text{ } \text{ἐπὶ τῶν χειρῶν}$  The LXX omits much here, but probably supports MT. Probably the translator just misunderstood the musical term "sound aloud", "chant in unison" or some such meaning which is rare for the Hiphil of  $\text{ἐπὶ}$  but occurs in similar contexts (1 Ch. 15:19 etc.).

- d) 7:55  $\text{LXX} \text{ } \text{ἐπὶ τῶν χειρῶν}$  Ezr. 2:53  $\text{LXX} \text{ } \text{ἐπὶ τῶν χειρῶν}$  This name only occurs here and its meaning is not definitely known. The Syriac transmitted well. Even our earliest manuscripts have a long history of may be a mistake of a copyist, but also it may be due to a desire to translate as "lightning".

One may note that in 1 Chronicles, chapter 1 there are about 40

significant variations in the 300 names of the Peshitta. As already mentioned

in Gen. 1 and 11 there are 10 errors in 100 names. one reason for the

numerous errors of Nehemiah doubtless is that there are so many names



### Conclusion.

By way of summary of the above material we may point out that by far the most common mistakes concern the Daleth/Resh variant and the variations of Nun/Yodh/Heth or their combinations. These make up over 60 names or about one fourth of the whole. Another group of variations cannot fairly be classed as errors, but must be considered as the natural result of transliterating names from Hebrew to Syriac where slightly different phonetic and stylistic rules apply. Such variations are the addition of prosthetic Aleph, the Zayin/Daleth variation, and the Syriacizing of particular names in special ways. These account for about 40 variations and strictly speaking should be subtracted from the 220 observed variations to leave 180 instances of error. The remaining names which differ from MT are affected by miscellaneous mistakes such as naturally occur in copying such material, but no other type of variation exceeds ten in number.

We may be surprised at the large number of variations in the names of the Peshitta of Nehemiah - 220 out of 850 names. It seems evident that the translators were careless and the text was not transmitted well. Even our earliest manuscripts have a long history of poor transmission behind them. Nehemiah has suffered more than most books. We may note that in I Chronicles, chapter 1 there are about 40 significant variations in the 300 names of the Peshitta. As already mentioned, in Gen. 5 and 11 there are 10 errors in 100 names. One reason for the numerous errors of Nehemiah doubtless is that there are so many names



occurring in long lists. The copying of a large number of names together is tedious; the names have no special meaning to the translator and therefore they may be felt to be less important than other material; and it is easy to lose one's place when copying a long list of names. Still Nehemiah seems not to have been so careless. Obviously the translation was made for practical purposes and translated so accurately or transmitted so carefully as even the special benefit of the textual critic. Considerable freedom is the lists of names in 1 Chronicles. Apparently this short book was not considered as important as many of the other books and apparent ignorance of the meaning of the Hebrew. Unfortunately our therefore was not given equal care.

Understanding of some of these difficult passages is none too clear. It is stated that there are no complete verses omitted in the translation and more than a word or two which is not represented in some way in the text. Likewise there are no insertions except a word or two at a time for explanation. Contrast with this about 25 verses omitted from manuscripts of the LXX (chiefly in ch. 11 and 12), and many more of parts of verses. In short, the Syriac translation is free and sometimes poor, but it does in the main parallel the Hebrew text.

In this chapter the freedom exercised by the translator will be exhibited under three main heads: I Free translations occasioned by the idiom of normal idioms in the Hebrew or Syriac, II Free renderings which factorially represent the Hebrew sense, but exhibit an unnecessary departure from a literal rendering, III Conscious departures from the text.

p. 12



Probably we should be justified in applying to Nehemiah the remarks of Hawley on the Peshitta of Ezra.<sup>1</sup> Possibly, however, we should accuse the translator of Nehemiah of taking greater liberties than those Hawley alleges for Ezra. Obviously the translation was made for practical purposes and not for the special benefit of the textual critic. Considerable freedom is

therefore exercised in rendering some passages. A few cases may even be cited of apparent ignorance of the meaning of the Hebrew. Unfortunately our own understanding of some of these difficult passages is none too clear. It can be said that there are no complete verses omitted in the translation and only rarely more than a word or two which is not represented in some way in the Syriac. Likewise there are no insertions except a word or two at a time clearly for explanation. Contrast with this about 25 verses omitted from the major manuscripts of the LXX (chiefly in ch. 11' and 12), and many more omissions of parts of verses. In short, the Syriac translation is free and

idiomatic, sometimes poor, but it does in the main parallel the Hebrew text.

In this chapter the freedom exercised by the translator will be exhibited under three main heads: I Free translations occasioned by the occurrence of normal idioms in the Hebrew or Syriac, II Free renderings which satisfactorily represent the Hebrew sense, but exhibit an unnecessary departure from a literal rendering, III Conscious departures from the

(1) vid. sup. p. 12



23  
Hebrew text in order to attempt to improve upon it or interpret it.  
These conscious departures from the text may be in the way of: A. addition,  
B. omission, or C. variation. A later chapter will consider instances  
of variation of the Pesnitta from MT which seem to be due to an  
actual error made by the translator. Along with the latter  
category will be considered a few (very few) cases where possibly MT  
has suffered in later transmission.

It will easily be seen that in numbers of cases it will be  
difficult to tell whether a particular departure from MT is the result  
of conscious interpretative variation or of a corruption of text. The  
particular variations can not always be classified with certainty. But  
an attempt will be made to list in the present chapter all departures  
from MT due to idioms of the Syriac language or caused by the exegetical  
principles of the translator. All mistakes of translation will then be  
relegated to a later chapter. Mistakes of transmission have been  
considered already (Chapter III and part of Chapter IV).

#### I. Free translations due to normal idiomatic usage.

The Verb. The Waw Consecutive. It is to be expected that,  
although Syriac and Hebrew are closely related, some changes of expression  
will necessarily be made in translation. Thus the Hebrew Waw consec. with  
the Impf. is by all odds most frequently translated by the Syriac Waw with  
the Pf., as we should expect. About 215 cases of such usage were noted.

Certainly the translation is



In a few cases the Syriac Part. is used - 19 in all. Actually 11 of these 19 cases consist in  $\text{ܐܝܢܐ} = \text{ܐܝܢܐ}$ . In two anomalous cases (4:6 and 11:1) the Impf. with Waw consecutive is translated by the Impf.  $\text{ܐܝܢܐ} = \text{ܐܝܢܐ}$  and  $\text{ܐܝܢܐ} = \text{ܐܝܢܐ}$ . Reference to the verses will show that the translator here was not governed by the meaning of the Waw consecutive with the Impf., but freely interpreted the respective actions as continuing in past time.

The Hebrew Waw consecutive with the Pf. is also accurately rendered using the Syriac Waw with the Impf.

Other Tenses. Other tense equivalences are what would be expected. The ordinary Hebrew Impf., Pf., and Part. are translated by the corresponding form in Syriac. As would be expected, however, the Syriac had a tendency to use the participle more frequently than does the Hebrew and especially to employ paraphrastic constructions with the verb  $\text{ܐܝܢܐ}$  to express nuances of meaning not carefully differentiated in the Hebrew verb system. Several times the Pass. Part. is used for the Pf.: 1:3  $\text{ܐܝܢܐ} = \text{ܐܝܢܐ}$ ; a few times the Part. for the Hebrew Impf.: 6:9  $\text{ܐܝܢܐ} = \text{ܐܝܢܐ}$  or for the Pf. with Waw consecutive: 2:18  $\text{ܐܝܢܐ} = \text{ܐܝܢܐ}$ . Cases of a Part. with  $\text{ܐܝܢܐ}$  for the Hebrew Pf. are rare and explainable by interpretation of the situation: 1:4  $\text{ܐܝܢܐ} = \text{ܐܝܢܐ}$ . A few times the Syriac has a Pf. for the Hebrew Part., but these are chiefly where the Part. has the article and the Syriac turns it into a construction with the relative pronoun (the J.P.S. Version does the same):  $\text{ܐܝܢܐ} = \text{ܐܝܢܐ}$ . Certainly the translation is fair and accurate.



Of more interest are eleven places where the Syriac Pf. translates a plain Hebrew Impf. (2:20; 3:14 & 15 five times; 6:7; and 9:27 and 28 four times). In 2:20  $\text{פָּרַע} = \text{פָּרַע}$  probably the Pael pointing of L is wrong (the Peal meaning is "deliver") and it could then as well be understood as a Part. In 6:7  $\text{וַיִּפְּרַע} = \text{וַיִּפְּרַע}$  possibly the Syriac Pf. was used because of a desire to change the reference into past time. The remaining nine cases are really problems in the Hebrew rather than in Syriac. The four cases in 9:27 and 28 are interesting as showing in the prayer several Hebrew Impfs. which alternate in such a way with the Impf. with a Waw consecutive as to make one wonder about their syntax. In 3:14 and 15 the situation is similar. The same Hebrew verbs are used in the Impf. which in 7 exactly parallel cases in this chapter are Pf. or Waw consecutive with the Impf. Why there is this variation in the Hebrew is a question. At all events the Syriac translates these nine Impfs. by the Pf. tense (the J.P.S. Version uses the past) following the true meaning of the Hebrew and not being bound by formal rules of tense equivalence.

The Infinitive. Special attention may be paid to the translation of the infinitive inasmuch as Cornill accuses the Peshitta of Ezekiel of too great freedom in its treatment of  $\text{לַעֲשׂוֹת}$ . He says that it is omitted 4 times and paraphrased 10 times adding that  $\text{לַעֲשׂוֹת}$  is literally translated  $\text{וַיַּעֲשׂ}$  only in the phrase  $\text{וַיְהִי דְבַר יְהוָה אֵלַי לֵאמֹר}$ . In Nehemiah, however, the Inf. seems to be rather accurately represented. The Hebrew uses Lamedh with the Inf. about 75 times. Of these, 60 are quite literally represented in the Syriac by a

(2) Ezekiel p 149



corresponding Inf. with Lamedh. In the 3 cases where  $\text{לִּ$  is used in Nehemiah, however, a Syriac Inf. is never used. Where the context indicates a Pl. subject of the phrase in question, the Syriac conjunction and Pl. Part. are used ( $\text{ܠܝܠܝܐ}$ ). Where the Sing. is expected, the Syriac uses the conjunction with the Pf. ( $\text{ܠܝܠܝܐ}$ ). This usage, far from being a freedom of the Syriac translator is a case of accuracy, for the Hebrew Inf.  $\text{לִ$  has an idiomatic force not found in the usual cases of the Inf. and it should be rendered differently. The Syriac does not prefer this particular idiom (although it is found in non-Biblical Aramaic)<sup>3</sup> as collective and covering Sing. in Hebrew, but

The seven or so remaining instances of the Hebrew Inf. with Lamedh are translated in special ways probably showing some slight freedom or error. Two are omitted by the Syriac and the rest rendered by a Pf. or Part. in a way not surprising in their contexts. We should conclude that the Lamedh with the Inf. is rather accurately rendered in Nehemiah. <sup>ent in the agreement</sup>

There are also five cases of the Hebrew Inf. with Caph in a temporal clause which are all translated as we should expect by  $\text{ܐܝܢܝܢ}$  with either the Perf. or Part. of the verb. One case of  $\text{כִּ$  with the Inf. is represented by  $\text{ܐܝܢܝܢ}$  with the Syriac Part. Three cases of  $\text{כִּ$  with the Inf. are translated by  $\text{ܐܝܢܝܢ}$  with the Perf. or Part. It would seem that in Nehemiah the Peshitta has with few exceptions translated the Hebrew infinitives with real accuracy, nicely turning the Hebrew idioms into good Syriac which sometimes may be different in form, but is identical in meaning. <sup>the noun. However, the</sup>

(3) cf. Cowley Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C. (Oxford 1923) p 276.

ed in other ways. Thus it sometimes is used on quasi proper names or



A further remark concerning the verb and its treatment may be made.

The Syriac tendency to insert the copula {oα or {L} when the Hebrew nominal sentence dispenses with it, can be illustrated in Nehemiah. Eleven instances were noted with none where the Syriac would omit a copula found in the Hebrew.

Also we may note that occasionally the Syriac verb disagrees from its Hebrew original in number. In some ways this phenomenon could be considered under the treatment of nouns because one cause of the disagreement is a subject regarded as collective and construed Sing. in Hebrew, but regarded as Pl. in Syriac and necessitating a Pl. verb. Other factors also enter, sometimes. Note 3:6 קָמְּנוּ / קָמְנוּ where the subject is compound in both the Hebrew and Syriac contexts. On the other hand in 6:2 the subjects are again compound, but only the Syriac has a Pl. verb: קָמְנוּ / קָמְנוּ. The fact is that neither Hebrew nor Syriac are consistent in the agreement of subject and predicate and we are therefore not surprised at some variation of this sort.

**The Noun.** There are of course any number of cases where the usual genitival paraphrase is used in Syriac to translate the simple Hebrew construct state. Frequently the nomen rectum has the pronominal suffix attached; more often it does not but is simply followed by Daleth. Likewise the Hebrew article is regularly rendered by the Syriac emphatic state when the article is the ordinary sign of definiteness of the noun. However, the Hebrew article sometimes has other meanings and is then appropriately rendered in other ways. Thus it sometimes is used on quasi proper names or



on gentiles where the Syriac does not need to express it. Again the article may be used on a participle in the predicate position and be properly translated by a relative particle used with a relative clause in the Syriac. This is a matter of normal Syriac idiom and does not warrant the charge of freedom in translation.

More serious is the matter of Syriac nouns which do not agree in number with the corresponding Hebrew nouns. There are many cases (over 60 were counted) where the disagreement is the natural consequence of the Hebrew preferring a collective while the Syriac does not, or vice versa. Cf. for example 1:6 ܐܢܝܢ / ܐܢܝܢ. Interestingly, in the similar phrase in 1:11 the Syriac has the Sing. like the Hebrew. Again in 5:17 the collective ܐܢܝܢ is rendered ܐܢܝܢ. In 7:61 the word ܐܢܝܢ becomes ܐܢܝܢ. Likewise ܐܢܝܢ is turned into the Pl. in 9:24. A regular variation is ܐܢܝܢ for "staircase" where the Hebrew has the Pl. ܐܢܝܢ (12:37 etc.). Some of these instances are slightly interpretative as 12:36 ܐܢܝܢ / ܐܢܝܢ. On the other hand, the difference between many of these Syriac Pl. forms and the Sing. is only the presence of Sejame, so the frequency of this variation should not be emphasized as it is often merely editorial.

There are a few other cases beside these 60 where the difference is a little wider and depends somewhat on interpretation. Again the difference is often just in the use of Sejame so not too much should be built upon it. Important departures of this sort are mentioned under II - Free renderings. For instance, in 2:7 & 9 the translator took liberties in rendering "governors beyond the river" ܐܢܝܢ by ܐܢܝܢ. In the same context he speaks of a

which recur regularly and rather frequently have been taken. The others have more usually been called free translations.



"letter" from the king of Persia instead of in the Pl. Again in 3:15 מִן is rendered (אֶחָד simply because it is obvious the leader of this portion of work did not build the wall by himself. The translator has adopted the viewpoint of an interpreter here. In 4:5 חַטֹּאת is rendered (כֹּסֶם This is likely not because "sin" is in itself collective, but the translator chose to emphasize the sins of Tobiah and Sanballat by using the Pl. phrases

In a similar fashion pronouns show a variation of number. An object. example of a pronoun with a compound antecedent is found in 6:14 "Remember Tobiah and Sanballat" וְיִשְׁכָּבֶד / (כֹּסֶם) Another type of disagreement in the number of a pronoun is that in 8:17 יָדָא / (כֹּסֶם) where it is a question of viewpoint whether the translator should speak of every one and his roof or every man and their roofs. It is no great freedom. variation of phrase are

Prepositions and the Conjunction. The Hebrew prepositions Beth, Lamedh, Caph, and Min and the conjunction Waw were compared with their Syriac equivalents in order to judge the degree of freedom with which they have been treated and the extent to which they have suffered in translation and subsequent copying. Statistics will be presented which may be useful in outlining the situation, especially since these particles are omitted from the Index when the correspondence of Hebrew and Syriac is exact. The statistics, however, must be regarded as approximate because it is often a question whether a given variation should be classified as due to legitimate idiomatic usage or is the result of freedom in translation or is a mistake. Those variations which recur regularly and rather frequently have been taken as legitimate idioms. The others have more usually been called free translations.



Lamedh. In about 245 cases the Hebrew Lamedh is translated by the Syriac Lamedh. In slightly more instances there is a divergence. The approximately 270 cases where the Hebrew Lamedh and the Syriac Lamedh are not equivalent were classified as follows: In 40 cases the Syriac Lamedh served as the sign of the accusative which was marked, generally, by the Hebrew ל or אל. In about 35 more cases it represented אל in such phrases as "say unto", "hearken unto", etc. or in expressing motion toward an object. A similar usage was the 5 instances of translation of the locative He or adverbial accusative by the Syriac Lamedh. In about 35 more cases the Syriac uses אל to represent אל. This is practically a compound preposition and a good equivalent of the Hebrew. Twenty more cases occur in Chapter 12:12-21 where the sons of the first generation of priests are listed each with a Lamedh of possession before his father's name in the Hebrew. The Syriac omits all these Lamedhs using a simple appositional construction. To summarize, out of 270 cases of non-equivalence, 125 are standard idioms which we naturally expect. and there is similar

The remaining 145 cases of divergence are divided among less common idioms, instances of free rendering, mistakes occasioned by the corruption of the context, and mistakes in the use or transmission of the prepositions.

A very few instances may be cited for illustration. Probably idiomatic is

9:25 לְרֹאשׁ הַכֹּהֲנִים, לְרֹאשׁ הַכֹּהֲנִים, לְרֹאשׁ הַכֹּהֲנִים where the last word is rendered

Also 9:7 where God is addressed as the one אֱלֹהֵינוּ / אֱלֹהֵינוּ

A free rendering may be illustrated by 8:15 where reference is made to the

Law which צוֹת יְהוָה בְּיַד מֹשֶׁה / צוֹת יְהוָה בְּיַד מֹשֶׁה of. 10:29 and 9:14



Thus the Jan

amend occurs in about 15 or 20 per cent of the instances of its use.

1110 1110

A case of free rendering typical of several is 8:4 which says that Ezra stood to read לְפָנֵי הַקָּהָל אֶת הַסֵּפֶר, all of which is represented by



The meaning is approximately the same. A mistake in the context causing a mistake in the preposition may be illustrated again by the confusion of  $\text{בְּ}$  and  $\text{בִּי}$ . In 4:12 we read:  $\text{וְלֹא־הָיָה־לְךָ־חֵן־וְחַסְדִּים־לְפָנַיִם}$  which is rendered by the Syriac  $\text{ܠܐ ܚܝܢܐ ܘܚܨܕܝܢܐ ܠܥܝܢܝܐ}$  Some Greek evidence is lacking, but enough remains to support MT. Another frequent mistake or free rendering is the omission of a word carrying a preposition.

The preposition Beth like the Lamedh is thus seen to be poorly handled in approximately 15 per cent of the instances of its use.

Caph. There are only 44 cases to consider here. In 36 the Caph is rendered literally by  $\text{ܟ}$  or, occasionally, by the adverb  $\text{ܟܠܗܝܐ}$ . Ten more cases are accounted for by the use of  $\text{ܟܝܢ}$  plus the finite verb to represent Caph with the Hebrew Inf. Const. in a temporal clause. Twice in a similar way  $\text{ܟܝܢ}$  with the Pf. is so treated. Mistakes in the treatment of Caph are thus remarkably few especially considering its similarity to Beth in both Hebrew and Syriac scripts. The two cases of non-equivalence noted seem rather to be free renderings. They are: 4:12  $\text{וְיָהִי־בְּאֵזֶר־בָּאֵזֶר}$  /  $\text{ܟܝܢ ܐܝܬܐ ܒܥܝܢܐ}$  and 7:2  $\text{וְיִהְיֶה־בְּיָמֵינוּ־אֵתֵּךְ־אֵתֵּךְ}$  /  $\text{ܟܝܢ ܐܝܬܐ ܒܝܡܝܢܐ ܐܝܬܐ ܐܝܬܐ}$

Min. Here the exact equivalences are about 90 and the divergences are about 25. About 10 of these divergences are idioms such as the partitive in 11:1  $\text{ܟܝܢ ܐܝܬܐ ܒܝܢܐ ܕܡܢ ܡܢܐܝܝܢܐ}$  (in contrast to  $\text{ܟܝܢ ܐܝܬܐ ܒܝܢܐ ܕܡܢ ܡܢܐܝܝܢܐ}$  earlier in the verse) for  $\text{ܟܝܢ ܐܝܬܐ ܒܝܢܐ ܕܡܢ ܡܢܐܝܝܢܐ}$  cf. also 10:37 and 11:2. A few, the other fifteen, were classified as free renderings or mistakes. For instance  $\text{ܟܝܢ ܐܝܬܐ ܒܝܢܐ ܕܡܢ ܡܢܐܝܝܢܐ}$  is added with a pronoun freely in 6:14 where Nehemiah prays against his enemies and the prophets  $\text{ܟܝܢ ܐܝܬܐ ܒܝܢܐ ܕܡܢ ܡܢܐܝܝܢܐ}$  /  $\text{ܟܝܢ ܐܝܬܐ ܒܝܢܐ ܕܡܢ ܡܢܐܝܝܢܐ}$  A pure



mistake is illustrated by 10:9 where the word <sup>100</sup> is taken as a name

The LXX agrees with MT which is doubtless correct.

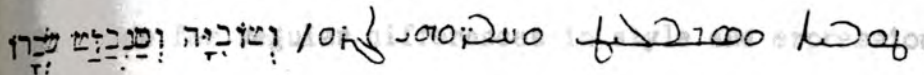
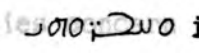
Apparently the Min is mishandled about 13 per cent of the time - a figure agreeing rather closely with the percentages for Lamedh and Beth.






The Conjunction. The subject here is much larger and only an overall picture can be given. There are about 900 cases of exact equivalence of the Hebrew and Syriac conjunctions and 375 cases of disagreement.

However, of these cases of divergence almost 200 can be singled out as frequent, rather regular, idioms. Thus there are about 45 cases where in a compound number the Syriac has a sequence like "one hundred and twenty, and five," whereas the Hebrew almost without exception would have "one hundred twenty and five." This Syriac usage agrees with that of other Old Testament books as, for instance, in Gen. 5 (although the Hebrew there differs from that in Nehemiah putting the hundreds at the end). Indeed with great regularity the Syriac of Nehemiah puts a conjunction on the second member of a series of three whereas the Hebrew omits this conjunction. In longer series the Syriac has a notable tendency to uniformity putting a conjunction before every member after the first. The Hebrew is much more irregular.

Over a hundred cases of such disagreements in series were noted. Miscellaneous idioms account for 25 more. As noted above (p 27) <sup>100</sup> is frequently translated <sup>100</sup> or by a similar phrase. <sup>100</sup> is nine times translated <sup>100</sup> and there are about 12 cases of a Hebrew Waw of asseveration or of apodosis being omitted in the Syriac. 4:15 or 1:1 may be cited as examples.



There remain between 175 and 200 cases of disagreement of the conjunctions - a figure which is not so large as might be expected in view of the easy corruption of the Waw in both scripts and the freedom with which we might expect them to be treated in translation. A few of these remaining cases, about 40, can be classified as due to the loss or addition of words requiring a change in the conjunction. For instance, 6:12 reads: . Elsewhere also in the enumeration of Nehemiah's enemies  is added freely. In about 40 additional cases a confusion of the context results in a recasting of the phrases, in which the conjunction suffers change. 5:7 and 8 is an instance. Probably due to homoioteleuton a clause from vs.8 is placed in vs.7. In the resulting confusion a Hebrew Waw is dropped and a Syriac Waw added in a different position.<sup>4</sup>

An instance of freedom in the use of the conjunctions is the translation of  or  which are translated  in 4 places, but  is  in 13:26. Also a case of freedom is 9:5 where a pair of exhortations are connected by the Syriac Waw when the Hebrew has no conjunction. The situation is just the opposite in 6:2. Especially we may call attention

In many more cases - almost a hundred - the conjunctions seem to be handled with disregard for accuracy. The carelessness which we observe may have been due to the translator or may have been the result of errors in transmission. Probably both factors entered in. Reference to the collation (4) cf. p.111 for discussion of this verse. quite clear, is 4:6 where it says

... translation which may be cited is 13:13



in appendix A will show numbers of cases of disagreements among various editions and manuscripts in this regard.

Thus we see that the conjunction, like the common prepositions is badly treated a little less than 15 per cent of the time. Indeed in concluding our study of the prepositions and the conjunction, we may say that their treatment is not as poor as might be supposed when we make proper allowance for regular differences in style and expression between the two languages. Also some of the discrepancies concern not these words as such, but rather are due to other more major discrepancies in the context which affect these words. There remain, however, between 10 and 15 per cent of cases where these words are treated with unjustifiable freedom or have suffered from mistakes in translation or copying. Since all the prepositions (except the seldom used Caph) which were studied above, and also the conjunction, agree rather closely in the percentage of error, it seems to be a fair conclusion that their mistreatment reflects in large measure the generally poor condition of the Syriac text and its carelessness in translation.

Other idiomatic translations. A few other idiomatic constructions which recur several times may be noted here. Especially we may call attention to the insertion of words like  $\text{ܥܠܐ}$  and  $\text{ܕܥܝܢܐ}$  in places where the Hebrew has a mere copula or understands a verb. For instance, 1:1  $\text{ܐܢܝ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ}$  which is translated  $\text{ܥܠܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ}$  cf. also 4:3, 18; 5:16, etc. For the similar addition of  $\text{ܕܥܝܢܐ}$  cf. 1:3; 9:37 etc.

Another idiom which only occurs once, yet is quite clear is 4:6 where it says the wall was being finished  $\text{ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ}$  /  $\text{ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ}$

Another idiomatic translation which may be cited is 13:19  $\text{ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ}$



translated

where the active impersonal construction of the Hebrew is turned into a passive in Syriac with an appropriate subject supplied. A last idiom of several more which could doubtless be listed here is 13:24  $\text{ܕܝܢܐ ܕܝܢܐ} / \text{ܕܝܢܐ}$ , where the Pl. is used for the distributive. Other idioms similar to these, but perhaps reflecting a little greater freedom will be discussed in the following section.

## II Free Renderings due to Ordinary Syriac Style.

The instances of free translation due to regular Syriac idiom which were discussed in the previous section, are found in any translation of a document where the work is faithful, but not stilted. Each language has its own idioms, and some minor changes of order and phraseology will be necessary unless a translation be given resembling that by Aquila. Of course for textual critical purposes we should prefer a translation like Aquila's, but the Peshitta of Nehemiah is far removed from that. Much greater freedom was exercised in the translation here than was necessary and instances of this freedom will now be given. This section will list the free renderings which satisfactorily represent the Hebrew sense, but are not literal translations. They do not show a conscious violation of the Hebrew text and yet they are more free than necessary and probably should not have been used if the translation were to be really accurate. These approximate translations



are used in most cases to improve the Syriac style and make the work more self-explanatory to the people for whom it was intended.

1:1 ܕܝܠܐ / ܕܝܠܐ The Syriac month ܕܝܠܐ was December; ܕܝܠܐ was January. The Hebrew ܕܝܠܐ was November-December (B.D.E.) and

therefore the translation here is good. In Zech.7:1 again ܕܝܠܐ translates ܕܝܠܐ and it is designated "the ninth month".

1:2 ܕܝܠܐ / ܕܝܠܐ A fairly common translation.

1:3 ܕܝܠܐ / ܕܝܠܐ The Hebrew has a construction analogous to the internal object. The Syriac avoids this repetition translating ܕܝܠܐ by ܕܝܠܐ Cornill remarks<sup>5</sup> that in Ezekiel the internal object construction is avoided by the Syriac. Elsewhere in Nehemiah a true internal object construction is retained in the translation of 12:43 and is employed also in the translation of 5:1 where the Hebrew does not use one. On the other hand, in 13:13 where the subject and verb are from the same root, the Syriac avoids the redundancy just as it does in 1:3. Note also 6:7 ܕܝܠܐ .... ܕܝܠܐ We cannot say that in Nehemiah the internal object construction is avoided. The usage varies.

1:5 ܕܝܠܐ / ܕܝܠܐ This is a free but correct interpretation of the interjection. Likewise in 1:11 the particle of entreaty ܕܝܠܐ is rendered ܕܝܠܐ.

1:6 places the mention of "ears" after "eyes" in the petition which

(5) op.cit. p. 142.



reads  $\text{שְׁמַע נָא אֶזְנֶךָ לְשִׁמְעָה בְּתַחֲנוּנִי לְשִׁמְעָה}$

This transposition is

in the Syriac because the petition proceeds with the verb "to hear".

LXX has the order of MT. The Syriac smoothed things out.

1:6  $\text{לְשִׁמְעָה בְּתַחֲנוּנִי אֶזְנֶךָ שְׁמַע נָא}$  /  $\text{ܐܝܬܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܝܐ ܕܥܝܢܝܐ ܕܥܝܢܝܐ}$  The Syriac

freely recasts the expression, but the sense is not altered.

1:11  $\text{ܐܝܬܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܝܐ ܕܥܝܢܝܐ ܕܥܝܢܝܐ}$  /  $\text{ܐܝܬܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܝܐ ܕܥܝܢܝܐ ܕܥܝܢܝܐ}$  The Syriac uses the pronoun for variety as the sentence

just previously used  $\text{ܐܝܬܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܝܐ}$  translated  $\text{ܐܝܬܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܝܐ}$

2:6  $\text{ܐܝܬܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܝܐ ܕܥܝܢܝܐ ܕܥܝܢܝܐ}$  /  $\text{ܐܝܬܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܝܐ ܕܥܝܢܝܐ ܕܥܝܢܝܐ}$  The

Syriac is briefer, simpler, and gives the Hebrew sense, but it is

somewhat free.

3:2  $\text{ܐܝܬܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܝܐ ܕܥܝܢܝܐ ܕܥܝܢܝܐ}$  /  $\text{ܐܝܬܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܝܐ ܕܥܝܢܝܐ ܕܥܝܢܝܐ}$  Throughout this chapter this phrase of

simply  $\text{ܐܝܬܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܝܐ}$  is used for  $\text{ܐܝܬܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܝܐ}$  or  $\text{ܐܝܬܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܝܐ}$ . This is quite a

legitimate translation as  $\text{ܐܝܬܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܝܐ}$  may be used to mean "place" (cf. B.D.E.

p. 390). We may remark that the J.P.S. Version puts it similarly

"next unto him" etc. but the LXX treats it very literally  $\text{ἐπὶ χεῖρα αὐτοῦ}$ .

4:3  $\text{ܐܝܬܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܝܐ ܕܥܝܢܝܐ ܕܥܝܢܝܐ}$  /  $\text{ܐܝܬܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܝܐ ܕܥܝܢܝܐ ܕܥܝܢܝܐ}$  This seems to be a minor but curious

variation of expression. It is the familiar Semitic genitival construction

with adjectival force. Both expressions mean "their stone wall."

4:7  $\text{ܐܝܬܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܝܐ ܕܥܝܢܝܐ ܕܥܝܢܝܐ}$  /  $\text{ܐܝܬܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܝܐ ܕܥܝܢܝܐ ܕܥܝܢܝܐ}$  This is a free

translation, but an accurate representation of the Hebrew meaning. The

LXX, however, translates quite literally  $\text{ἀπερὶ τὴν φωνὴν τοῦ ταχέως}$

4:11  $\text{ܐܝܬܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܝܐ ܕܥܝܢܝܐ ܕܥܝܢܝܐ}$  /  $\text{ܐܝܬܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܝܐ ܕܥܝܢܝܐ ܕܥܝܢܝܐ}$  This is just a more specific

rendering for clarification.



reads וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמָעֵל הָאֵלֹהִים אֶת הַקּוֹלֹת הָאֵלֶּים This transposition is made in the Syriac because the petition proceeds with the verb "to hear". The LXX has the order of MT. The Syriac smoothed things out.

1:6 וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמָעֵל הָאֵלֹהִים אֶת הַקּוֹלֹת הָאֵלֶּים / ܠܝ ܕܝܗܝ ܡܝܢ ܕܝܗܝ The Syriac freely recasts the expression, but the sense is not altered.

1:11 וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמָעֵל הָאֵלֹהִים אֶת הַקּוֹלֹת הָאֵלֶּים / ܠܝܗܝ The Syriac uses the pronoun for variety as the sentence just previously used ܕܝܗܝ translated ܕܝܗܝ

2:6 וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמָעֵל הָאֵלֹהִים אֶת הַקּוֹלֹת הָאֵלֶּים / ܠܝܗܝ ܕܝܗܝ ܕܝܗܝ The Syriac is briefer, simpler, and gives the Hebrew sense, but it is somewhat free.

3:2 וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמָעֵל הָאֵלֹהִים אֶת הַקּוֹלֹת הָאֵלֶּים / ܠܝܗܝ ܕܝܗܝ Throughout this chapter this phrase or simply ܠܝܗܝ is used for ܠܝܗܝ or ܕܝܗܝ. This is quite a legitimate translation as ܠܝܗܝ may be used to mean "place" (cf. B.D.E. p. 390). We may remark that the J.P.S. Version puts it similarly "next unto him" etc. but the LXX treats it very literally ἐπὶ χεῖρα αὐτοῦ.

4:3 וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמָעֵל הָאֵלֹהִים אֶת הַקּוֹלֹת הָאֵלֶּים / ܠܝܗܝ ܕܝܗܝ This seems to be a minor but curious variation of expression. It is the familiar Semitic genitival construction with adjectival force. Both expressions mean "their stone wall."

4:7 וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמָעֵל הָאֵלֹהִים אֶת הַקּוֹלֹת הָאֵלֶּים / ܠܝܗܝ ܕܝܗܝ This is a free translation, but an accurate representation of the Hebrew meaning. The LXX, however, translates quite literally ἀνεβή η φωνή τοῦ ταύρου

4:11 וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמָעֵל הָאֵלֹהִים אֶת הַקּוֹלֹת הָאֵלֶּים / ܠܝܗܝ ܕܝܗܝ This is just a more specific rendering for clarification. abstract idea, but the meaning is the same.



4:16 ܐܬܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ / ܐܬܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ This case of free translation may be likened to that in 4:7 above. The Syriac represents the Hebrew, but not literally. The LXX has an interesting attempt at literalness, but it does not fully appreciate the Hebrew idiom: κατεπεσεν φόβος σφοδρὰ ἐν ἀφθαλμοῖς αὐτῶν.

8:15 ܐܬܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ / ܐܬܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ This translation is in accord with the purpose of the translator to produce a practical version. He evidently translated the month designations into those common among his contemporaries. Cf. 1:1 above, but in 8:3 this same phrase is rendered ܐܬܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ

8:19 ܐܬܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ / ܐܬܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ This is the usual translation for this phrase occurring also in 8:9 and 9:3. The plain word ܐܬܝܬܐ is translated literally in 7 instances. It is expanded by the word ܐܬܝܬܐ in 8:3; by ܐܬܝܬܐ in 13:3; and by ܐܬܝܬܐ in 10:22. ܐܬܝܬܐ is rendered ܐܬܝܬܐ in 8:10 and 14. Apparently a degree of freedom was allowed in the translation but the usual phrase for the sacred volume was ܐܬܝܬܐ

9:8 ܐܬܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ / ܐܬܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ Also in 9:32 ܐܬܝܬܐ is rendered ܐܬܝܬܐ Elsewhere in Nehemiah it is poorly treated. 6

In 1:5 it is rendered ܐܬܝܬܐ and in 13:29 by mistake ܐܬܝܬܐ The phrase ܐܬܝܬܐ in Genesis is regularly ܐܬܝܬܐ

9:26 ܐܬܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ / ܐܬܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ in the sense of refusing God's law.

The Syriac has used a more abstract idiom, but the meaning is the same.



11:27 תַּחֲצִיט / ~~ܬܚܨܝܬܐ~~ The Syriac interpretation here perhaps is not justified, but it seems possible and the Hebrew is not too clear. E.D.E. (p 53) says "fixed provision".

11:25 to 30 The single Syriac word ܬܚܨܝܬܐ is used to translate the various Hebrew words for "suburbs": תַּחֲצִיט (11:25, 25, 27, 28, 30, 31) תַּחֲצִיט (11:25, 30) and תַּחֲצִיט (11:30). ~~ܬܚܨܝܬܐ~~ change, or extract from.

13:18 אֱלֹהֵינוּ / ~~ܐܠܗܝܢܐ~~ This could easily be a mistake in copying. In 13:2 the same word is ~~ܐܠܗܝܢܐ~~ in A but ~~ܐܠܗܝܢܐ~~ in L. Some freedom was apparently felt in the use of the divine names. Cf. p. 119 for data on the variation between ~~ܐܠܗܝܢܐ~~ and ~~ܐܠܗܝܢܐ~~.

13:13 וְעַל יָדָם / ~~ܐܠܗܝܢܐ~~ which is a free but correct rendering. The

13:20 וְעַל יָדָם / ~~ܐܠܗܝܢܐ~~ In the context, mention is made of the merchants staying outside the city wall with the gates shut against them. According to the basic meaning of יָדָם and ~~ܐܠܗܝܢܐ~~ this meant they passed a couple of nights thus and therefore the Syriac freely says that it happened a day or two. It seems from the context, however, that it happened on a couple of successive Sabbaths. The first impression of the translator seems to have been not quite accurate.

definite the unexpressed subject of the verb.

~~ܐܠܗܝܢܐ~~ This addition for emphasis is also found in ver. 1 after ~~ܐܠܗܝܢܐ~~.

~~ܐܠܗܝܢܐ~~ added for emphasis. ~~ܐܠܗܝܢܐ~~ is added again before ~~ܐܠܗܝܢܐ~~.



### III. Conscious Interpretative Departures from the Hebrew.

The extent of freedom exercised by the translator of Nehemiah may be shown very well by the frequency of his conscious departures from MT. He did not hesitate to amplify, change, or subtract from the text which he had before him. We may certainly say that he took liberties with his original which were not justified and which show that he acted to some extent as a reviser as well as a translator. In this section the modifications of the text of an exegetical nature will be listed as additions, omissions, and variations. The departures from MT now to be considered are distinguished from legitimate free renderings already discussed and from actual mistakes of translation which will be taken up in the following chapter.

#### A. Additions.

1:2 וְיִשְׁלַח / + וְיִשְׁלַח A minor addition of no special significance.

1:3 וַיִּבְנֶה / + וַיִּבְנֶה A similar clause is found in the preceding verse and is added here to make more definite the unexpressed subject of the verb.

1:3 וַיִּבְנֶה / + וַיִּבְנֶה This addition for emphasis is also found in vs.4 after וַיִּבְנֶה.

1:3 וַיִּבְנֶה / + וַיִּבְנֶה added for emphasis. It is added again before וַיִּבְנֶה.

Journal of the American Schools of Oriental Research No. XIV pp 127-128. cf. the whole report pp 112 - 140. cf. also his discussion "The Four of Inspection" in E.A.S.O.R. No. 64 (1936) pp 11-21.



3:12 The translator felt that the extra word was needed for smoothness.

3:8 The following Hebrew phrase probably suggested the insertion. Probably with the guild names we should understand the word as merely "belonging to."

3:25 Note that the same phrase in vss. 26 and 27 is translated literally both times. The insertion in 3:25 was possibly to distinguish that reference from the two which follow which were presumed to be different. Burrows<sup>6</sup> feels that the "tower that projects from the upper house of the king" of vs. 25 is not a part of the wall itself, but near it and that it is probably different from the tower mentioned in vss. 26 and 27, but he is not positive. In this report Burrows has given an exhaustive analysis of the towers and gates mentioned in Neh. 3. He feels that little definite can be concluded as to their locations, but argues that the "water gate to the East" was probably in the eastern wall and on the northern section thus opening into the upper Kidron valley. The enumeration of the portions of the wall, he thinks, is counter-clockwise. He somewhat prefers the view that Nehemiah's wall included only the southeastern hill of Jerusalem, but admits that a larger area could have been included. He concludes "Evidently assuming that his readers were acquainted with the points named, the writer has neglected to give us sufficient data for locating exactly any one of them."<sup>7</sup>

(6) Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research No. XIV pp 127  
(7) op.cit. p 140 cf. the whole report pp 115 - 140. cf. also his discussion of "Nehemiah's Tour of Inspection" in E.A.S.O.R. No. 64 (1936) pp 11-21.



- 4:6 <sup>ܐܢܬܝܢܐ</sup> / + <sup>ܕܡܢ</sup> The reason for this addition or its meaning in the Syriac sentence is not clear. Perhaps it is a mistaken doublet for <sup>ܐܢܬܝܢܐ</sup>
- 4:15 <sup>ܕܡܢ</sup> / + <sup>ܡܢ</sup> simply supplying a subject for the impersonal passive verb. Cf. 6:1 where the same thing is done.
- 4:15 <sup>ܐܠ-ܡܚܘܡܐ</sup> / adds <sup>ܡܢ</sup> before this phrase and <sup>ܡܢ</sup> after it just to make the sentence more explicit.
- 4:22 <sup>ܡܢ</sup> / + <sup>ܡܢ</sup> This is probably a slight interpretation. The Hebrew contrasts lodging within Jerusalem with camping outside. The Syriac seems to contrast lodging in the streets of Jerusalem as guards and sentries with going into the houses at night to sleep.
- 5:3 <sup>ܕܡܢ</sup> / + <sup>ܡܢ</sup> This is added under the influence of <sup>ܡܢ</sup> in a similar situation at the end of vs. 2. In the same way <sup>ܡܢ</sup> is added at the end of vs. 4.
- 5:4 recasts the Hebrew sentence <sup>ܕܡܢ</sup> to make it read: <sup>ܡܢ</sup> The translator added <sup>ܡܢ</sup> and changed the preposition Lamedh to Min. The Hebrew is elliptic, but the Syriac seems clearly to have altered the sense and given an illogical interpretation.
- 5:5 <sup>ܕܡܢ</sup> / + <sup>ܡܢ</sup> The addition is free, but easily explainable. The verb which the Hebrew understands is made explicit in the Syriac and the extra noun is added to the items listed to make the list more inclusive.



5:12 אֵלֶּיךָ / + *ܐܠܝܗܐ* The Hebrew states the positive vow required of the priests, and the Syriac simply adds a corresponding negative statement for greater emphasis.

5:13 אֵלֶּיךָ / + *ܐܠܝܗܐ* These words are added in view of the following mention of Divine worship. Apparently the custom of the captives returning "from Tel Bala" and "to Tel Hareana" the translator was to rise for prayer and worship.

5:15 אֵלֶּיךָ / + *ܐܠܝܗܐ* Added for emphasis.

5:16 אֵלֶּיךָ / + *ܐܠܝܗܐ* added before the verb simply for emphasis.

5:16 אֵלֶּיךָ / + *ܐܠܝܗܐ* Probably this addition is made to make doubly sure that no foreigners are represented as working on the wall.

6:7 אֵלֶּיךָ / + *ܐܠܝܗܐ* The Syriac phrase is: *ܐܠܝܗܐ* They evidently read *אֵלֶּיךָ* as a verb and supplied the name of the king. The Hebrew clearly says that Nehemiah was accused of reigning. Note the evidence that the translator's Ms. was unpointed. The LXX supports MT.

6:12 אֵלֶּיךָ / + *ܐܠܝܗܐ* These words were added as an interpretation which was probably all too accurate! In the same way there is added at the end of the verse: *ܐܠܝܗܐ*

6:14 אֵלֶּיךָ / + *ܐܠܝܗܐ* to emphasize Sanballat's sins.

6:14 אֵלֶּיךָ / + *ܐܠܝܗܐ* added also in vs. 12 to include others mentioned in the context.

6:18 אֵלֶּיךָ / + *ܐܠܝܗܐ* This is simply adding freely the contents of the oath mentioned in the Hebrew. The phrase *אֵלֶּיךָ* is turned into a verbal construction in the Syriac.



7:61 adds the preposition  $\Delta$  before  $\text{מִן־הַיָּם}$  and  $\text{לַיָּם}$  as does also the translator of Ezr. 2:59. Elsewhere there is not much evidence of harmonizing this chapter, chiefly names, with its parallel in Ezr. 2 and this instance may not be conscious harmonizing but simply may reflect a similar geographical interpretation. The Syriac reading has the captives returning "from Tel Melah" and "to Tel Haresha (A has  $\text{בְּלַח}$ ) and to Cherub." This is probably wrong and Hawley remarks on the Ezra passage "Evidently the translator knew nothing of the geography of this region."<sup>8</sup> Unfortunately, we know but little more! On the form  $\text{בְּלַח}$  found in A, cf. p.63 (a).

7:66  $\text{וְהַכֹּהֵן הַזֶּה} / + \text{בְּ}$  An interpretative addition caused by assigning this priest to the Urim and Thummim.

7:70  $\text{וְהַכֹּהֵן הַזֶּה} / + \text{בְּ}$  This is doubtless a wrong addition because the work at that time was upon the wall.

8:4  $\text{וְהָיָה כִּי יִבְנוּ} / + \text{וְהָיָה כִּי יִבְנוּ}$  A simple addition to make the phrase explicit.

9:1 Before the phrase  $\text{וְהָיָה כִּי יִבְנוּ}$  the Syriac adds the verb  $\text{וְהָיָה}$  for clarity from a parallel expression in the preceding verse, which is probably to be understood in the Hebrew.

9:8  $\text{וְהָיָה כִּי יִבְנוּ} / + \text{וְהָיָה כִּי יִבְנוּ}$  This name is added among the well-known list of the nations of Canaan to make the total of seven. Other instances will be cited to show that the translators were thoroughly familiar with the rest of the Old Testament and occasionally harmonized, unconsciously their readings to other Biblical passages.

(3) op.cit. p.28.

At the end of vs.23 this word is used in a similar expression and it was a natural addition here. Cf. 11:9 above.



- 9:10  $\text{וְיִשְׂרָאֵל} / + \text{לְפָנָיו}$  Added to make specific the object of Pharaoh's cruelty.
- 9:11  $\text{וְיִשְׂרָאֵל} / +$  A simple addition to make the phrase explicit.
- 9:13  $\text{וְיִשְׂרָאֵל} / + \text{כֵּן}$  A quotation from Ex. 32:5. Also  $\text{כֵּן}$  is added before  $\text{וְיִשְׂרָאֵל}$  so as to read:  $\text{כֵּן וְיִשְׂרָאֵל}$  In both cases the additions are unconscious harmonizations to the original passage and illustrate the translator's Biblical knowledge. cf. 9:8 above.
- 9:26  $\text{וְיִשְׂרָאֵל} / + \text{וְיִשְׂרָאֵל}$  also adds  $\text{וְיִשְׂרָאֵל}$  before  $\text{וְיִשְׂרָאֵל}$ . Probably we should not think of a doublet here, but only consider the addition as a verb member in the list of the nations of Canaan (9:8 p 46) and the loss supplied where the Hebrew understands a copula.
- 9:25 Adds  $\text{וְיִשְׂרָאֵל}$  at the beginning of the verse for smoothness. The Hebrew verb  $\text{וְיִשְׂרָאֵל}$  (which is translated literally) comes at the end of a long clause and the translator felt the need to supply a verb earlier.
- 10:28  $\text{וְיִשְׂרָאֵל} / + \text{וְיִשְׂרָאֵל}$  The Hebrew is somewhat elliptical  $\text{וְיִשְׂרָאֵל} \dots \text{וְיִשְׂרָאֵל}$  and the Syriac is more explicit  $\text{וְיִשְׂרָאֵל} \dots \text{וְיִשְׂרָאֵל}$ .
- 10:36  $\text{וְיִשְׂרָאֵל} / + \text{וְיִשְׂרָאֵל}$  (last of vs. 35 in MT) The verb is simply repeated for clarity from a parallel expression in the preceding verse.
- 11:9  $\text{וְיִשְׂרָאֵל} / + \text{וְיִשְׂרָאֵל}$  Like 10:36 above, this is repeated from the instance earlier in the verse.
- 12:44 Adds  $\text{וְיִשְׂרָאֵל}$  before  $\text{וְיִשְׂרָאֵל}$ . On the contrary cf. 13:7 where  $\text{וְיִשְׂרָאֵל}$  is omitted from the phrase  $\text{וְיִשְׂרָאֵל}$ .
- 12:46 Adds  $\text{וְיִשְׂרָאֵל}$  before  $\text{וְיִשְׂרָאֵל}$  to read  $\text{וְיִשְׂרָאֵל}$  This is a surprisingly rare addition.
- 13:18  $\text{וְיִשְׂרָאֵל} / + \text{וְיִשְׂרָאֵל}$  Freely added for emphasis.
- 13:23  $\text{וְיִשְׂרָאֵל} / + \text{וְיִשְׂרָאֵל}$  At the end of vs. 23 this word is used in a similar expression and it was a natural addition here. Cf. 11:9 above.



probably relieved the trouble by another easy omission. We can not be sure, however, that the omission is not connected with the confused state of the text in the first part of the verse. The LXX also omits this phrase, but follows MT closely in the first part of the verse.

- 5:12 נְשִׁים וְאֵתָם לֹא נִבְרָא / S. omits. This omission seems probably to be due to the confused state of the previous context. Possibly it was omitted because it was felt to be redundant. The Hebrew continues:

בְּיָמֵינוּ נִבְרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶתְּמַלְאָה

- 6:3 תִּמְלֵאָה / S. omits as unnecessary. The pronoun contained in the verb sufficiently expresses the sense.

- 6:5 פְּתוּחָהּ / S. omits. The translator may have not only considered the word unnecessary, but thought that such a letter would not naturally be "open".

- 6:11 וְחִי לֹא אֲבִיא / S. omits the whole phrase. This is in connection with substituting וְחִי בְּמִוְנֵי אֱלֹהִים יִבָּא for וְחִי לֹא אֲבִיא.

The synonymous and repeated expressions are very freely treated.

- 7:33 אֶתְּ / S. omits this designation of בְּנֵי and also in vs. 34 the similar designation of עֲלֵי. It is not a usual use of אֶתְּ and the Syriac solves the difficulty again by an easy omission. What the true text was is not so easy to say. In Ezr. 2:29 MT omits אֶתְּ after Nebo, but not after Elam. After Elam the LXX in Nehemiah says ααρ which doubtless transliterates אֶתְּ. After Nebo G<sup>NA</sup> has εααρον while G<sup>B</sup> here has Ναβιαα ρ. This probably developed from Ναβιαα ααρ and gave rise to the other reading Ναβιαα εααρον. If this be true the LXX supports MT. According to Kittel 26 Mss read אֶתְּ in vs. 33 and 9 do so in vs. 34. There seems to be no reason to doubt MT.



- 7:20 יִשְׂרָאֵל / S. omits probably because of the similar phrase without this word in the next verse.
- 8:11 מִשְׁכָּנֵיכֶם ... מִשְׁכָּנֵיכֶם / S. omits both of these words just retaining their corresponding verbs: *אֵלֶיךָ אָבִי* - The translator may have thought the words unnecessary. However, because of other somewhat parallel cases we may think the omission was because of the similar phraseology of the next verse 13.
- 9:25 וַיִּלְכְּדוּ / S omits as unnecessary making the previous verb *וַיִּלְכְּדוּ* translated govern all the objects listed. Apparently the translator thought the
- 11:3 וַיִּשְׁבּוּ (in MT this is early in vs.4). S. omits this word and the conjunction on the previous word *וַיִּשְׁבּוּ* which is then kept with the preceding verse. The result is a change in the sense of the passage and a poor connection for the following words. It is a rather violent change. The reason for it also, is not apparent.
- 12:25 שְׁעָרֵי הַיָּם בְּאֵפֶס / S. omits these three words surely by homoioteleuton as the next word is *וַיִּשְׁבּוּ*. The homoioteleuton would be even easier if it occurred during the copying of the Syriac because the words for "porter" and "gate" differ only in the vowels and the article is not expressed in the Syriac as it is in the Hebrew here.
- 12:27 וַיִּבְלִי / S. omits in a series of musical instruments. Cf. 1:7 above.
- 13:4 נָתַן בְּלִשְׁתִּי בֵּית־אֱלֹהֵינוּ קְרוֹב לְמִן בְּיָה / S. omits all this. There is no other omission by the translator this long and it may be that a confusion arose with *וַיִּשְׁבּוּ* for *וַיִּשְׁבּוּ* (or *נָתַן*).
- 13:16 וַיִּשְׁבּוּ / S. omits probably because of the difficulty occasioned by the confused context. Cf. "Mistakes of the translator p.12"



- 1:3 **לְעֵבֶר** (first occurrence) / **لف** This was felt to agree better with the subject **לְעֵבֶר**. The mention of the speaker comes later (**לְעֵבֶר**).  
2:1 **לְעֵבֶר** / **لف** The phrase was expanded to be more explicit. The LXX has **ἡ ἐκκλησία σου**.  
2:3 **לְעֵבֶר** / **لف** The explanation of this variation is not clear. The LXX agrees with MT. Perhaps it is just a free expression, taking the Hebrew to mean "capital city," **לְעֵבֶר**. But the similar expression in 2:5 is literally translated.  
2:6 **לְעֵבֶר** / **لف** Apparently the translator thought the Hebrew expression as unseemly in dealing with the king. (LXX follows MT).  
2:8 **לְעֵבֶר** / **لف** The translator has substituted a more general word.  
2:9 **לְעֵבֶר** / **لف** Perhaps this was mere carelessness, but possibly the translator did not think **לְעֵבֶר** could properly refer to a part of an army. The LXX agrees with MT.  
2:10 **לְעֵבֶר** / **لف** According to the Sejames, the Syriac now takes the epithet to apply to both Sanballat and Tobiah.  
2:14 **לְעֵבֶר** / **لف** The order of words is peculiar in the Hebrew to express "for the beast under me to pass." But the LXX agrees with MT. Perhaps the Syriac translator, feeling the difficulty just omitted **לְעֵבֶר** and freely supplied **لف**.  
3:15 **לְעֵבֶר** / **لف** The translator apparently misunderstood the proper name of the "pool of Shelah" and took it as a common noun. In this way he solved the difficulty of the Lamedh of **לְעֵבֶר** which



really gives a double terminus to this section of the wall. The Syriac interprets the passage thus: "and the wall of the pools of the exit of waters to the garden of the king." Probably the interpretation is wrong and the name of the pool should be connected with the spring or with the tunnel of Siloam. Elsewhere, as in Is. 8:6, [75] is taken as a proper name. Furrows calculates<sup>9</sup> that if Nehemiah's walls did not include the southwestern hill, the Pool of Shelah would fall near the traditional Pool of Siloam. The translator probably made this identification, as a pool at the end of the famous tunnel would best fit the phrase [75] [76]. Probably the Lamedh of [77] should be taken as "belonging to" so as to locate the pool in relation to the garden. The J.P.S. version says "by"; Batten (in loc.) "at".

3:20 [78] / [79] The translator thought the context indicated a different interpretation and felt quite free to make the change. The following

3:23 [80] / [81] The previous [82] was rendered [83]; and therefore the singular suffix was required.

4:2 [84] / [85] This gives the general idea of Tobian's sarcasm, but is not a true translation.

4:3 [86] / [87] Note the avoidance of the conditional [88] and cf. Cornill's observations of a similar tendency in Ezekiel.<sup>10</sup>

Yet in the other ten times [89] is used it is 8 times translated by [90] or a compound like [91] and the other two times (after verbs of swearing) it

(9) Annual p.138.

(10) op. cit. p.143.



is translated by *ו*. These are proper renderings.

4:9 *וּבְעֵינֵינוּ מִלְּפָנֵינוּ* / *וּבְעֵינֵינוּ מִלְּפָנֵינוּ* Evidently the preposition was interpreted to be "over us" instead of "against them" and the different pronoun was used because of the different interpretation of *לָם*. Many examples could be given of just this attitude on the part of the translator. Instead of choosing his interpretation of the mainwords of a sentence in such a way as to allow accurate rendering of the prepositions, pronouns, etc. he would first decide what the passage meant by cursory examination of the main words and then would alter the minor words freely so as to fit his opinion.

4:16 *וַיְהִי כִּן-הַיּוֹם הַהוּא חֲצִי נֶעֱרִי עֲשִׂים בְּמִלְחָמָה* / The Syriac adds some words and interprets: *וַיְהִי כִּן-הַיּוֹם הַהוּא חֲצִי נֶעֱרִי עֲשִׂים בְּמִלְחָמָה*. At first sight this seems to be a mention of three halves! Doubtless the first *וַיְהִי* is to be considered as all-inclusive and should be translated "there was a dividing of the people." The following section is then only slightly free.

4:18 *וַיִּזְכְּרוּ אֶת-הַמִּצְוָה אֲשֶׁר צִוָּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ* / A free interpretation of the place of the trumpeters.

4:21 *וַיִּזְכְּרוּ אֶת-הַמִּצְוָה אֲשֶׁר צִוָּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ* / A free, and rather natural, treatment of the pronouns after *וַיִּזְכְּרוּ*.

4:22 *וַיִּזְכְּרוּ אֶת-הַמִּצְוָה אֲשֶׁר צִוָּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ* / The exegesis is not strictly accurate and the insertion of the extra derogatory expression.

5:2 *וַיִּזְכְּרוּ אֶת-הַמִּצְוָה אֲשֶׁר צִוָּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ* Waw slightly alters the sense.

5:9 *וַיִּזְכְּרוּ אֶת-הַמִּצְוָה אֲשֶׁר צִוָּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ* / The customs of the nations are called a "reproach" in MT, but the derogatory figure is dropped in the translation.

treatment of the conjunction, but it alters the sense of the passage.



The translator renders a difficult verse somewhat freely. Eätten (in loc.) remarks "The ancients were puzzled by the passage." The J.P.S. version reads "I likewise, and my brethren, and my servants, might exact of them money and corn: I pray you, let us leave off this usury." The Syriac is approximately like the Hebrew as far as the first part of the passage, but is translating the last two words as lwm. The last part is evidently an exhortation to the nobles to give to the poor, instead of to remit the levy as MT has it.

5:11 The Hebrew in the relative clause refers again to the heavy exactions of the nobles. Perhaps the final clause in the Syriac does not come from the Hebrew at all, but is a free repetition of the concluding thought of the Syriac of vs. 10.

15:17 וְיָהוּדִים / וְיָהוּדִים Perhaps the translator felt this change was necessary because these men are mentioned as coming from the nations around.

6:8 אֲנִי־בֹרֵךְ / אֶת־הַיָּהוָה / אֱלֹהֵינוּ / אֲנִי־בֹרֵךְ / אֶת־הַיָּהוָה / אֱלֹהֵינוּ / A toning down of a derogatory expression. We here needs something to complete the

6:17 ~~the~~ / *on* The noun is substituted for the relative pronoun to be more definite. The meaning is not changed.

7:5 וְיִתְּנֶנּוּ לְיָדָם / וְיִתְּנֶנּוּ לְיָדָם This is a free treatment of the conjunction, but it alters the sense of the passage.



9:7 The series of Impvs. is recast into a series of Pps. with a change of the pronoun to match: ܐܢܬܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ / ܐܢܬܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ  
(The LXX agrees with MT).

9:16 ܐܢܬܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ / ܐܢܬܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ Note the translator's strong tendency to regularize and simplify expressions.

9:17 ܐܢܬܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ / ܐܢܬܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ  
Probably the Syriac is merely using a bold paraphrase to translate the first part of the passage, but is translating the last two words literally. The LXX agrees with the Hebrew except that it reads "in Egypt" for the last word. Kittel-Kahle notes several Hebrew Mss. w  
which agree in this reading. Num. 14:4 has a similar phrase using ܐܢܬܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ and Kittel-Kahle, perhaps correctly, adopts also here the reading ܐܢܬܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ.

9:21 ܐܢܬܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ / ܐܢܬܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ, omitting ܐܢܬܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ. At the end of the verse ܐܢܬܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ is rendered by: ܐܢܬܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ. This seems definitely to be a reminiscence of Dt. 29:5 where in a similar context there is a reference to sandals not growing old. Cf. 9:18 (p. 92) for a similar example of the translator's knowledge of the rest of the Old Testament.

9:30 ܐܢܬܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ / ܐܢܬܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ The word ܐܢܬܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ here needs something to complete the meaning and probably we should understand ܐܢܬܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ. The Syriac has not followed this Hebrew idiom, it seems, but translated freely as if the reading were ܐܢܬܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ. The LXX follows MT literally.

9:38 ܐܢܬܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ / ܐܢܬܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ Note the variation of the pronouns and conjunctions in the series, typical of the freedom used.



10:29 The persons of MT were disregarded in order to secure a smoother reading felt to be more in harmony with the context.

11:12 and 13 The pronouns on the initial words are reversed in the translation:  $\text{ܐܢܬܝܢ} / \text{ܐܢܬܝܢ}$  /  $\text{ܐܢܬܝܢ} / \text{ܐܢܬܝܢ}$  An inaccurate translation, but not serious. We may be surprised that the reading "their brethren" was not adopted in both cases. The LXX agrees with MT.

11:24  $\text{ܐܢܬܝܢ} / \text{ܐܢܬܝܢ}$  /  $\text{ܐܢܬܝܢ} / \text{ܐܢܬܝܢ}$  It seems that the variation is due to paraphrase. The first part is an extension and explanation of the phrase  $\text{ܐܢܬܝܢ}$ , taking  $\text{ܐܢܬܝܢ}$  properly in the sense of "power" or "authority". The last four words of the Syriac are a fair rendering.

12:27  $\text{ܐܢܬܝܢ} / \text{ܐܢܬܝܢ}$  This more definite and explicit translation was doubtless suggested by the first word of vs. 28  $\text{ܐܢܬܝܢ} / \text{ܐܢܬܝܢ}$ .

12:29  $\text{ܐܢܬܝܢ} / \text{ܐܢܬܝܢ}$  This may be a variation due to topographical considerations.

12:31 Substitutes  $\text{ܐܢܬܝܢ} / \text{ܐܢܬܝܢ}$  for the name of the dung gate -  $\text{ܐܢܬܝܢ}$ .

Cf. 12:37 where  $\text{ܐܢܬܝܢ} / \text{ܐܢܬܝܢ}$  stands for the water gate -  $\text{ܐܢܬܝܢ}$ ,

12:38 where  $\text{ܐܢܬܝܢ} / \text{ܐܢܬܝܢ}$  stands for the tower of the furnaces -  $\text{ܐܢܬܝܢ}$ ,

12:39 where  $\text{ܐܢܬܝܢ} / \text{ܐܢܬܝܢ}$  stands for the prison gate -  $\text{ܐܢܬܝܢ}$ , and

12:39 where  $\text{ܐܢܬܝܢ} / \text{ܐܢܬܝܢ}$  stands for the tower of Meah -  $\text{ܐܢܬܝܢ}$ .

(But cf. the discussion of this last instance on p. 27).

Strangely, all the gates referred to above have their appropriate

Syriac equivalents in chapter 3 where they all appear except the

Surrounding, op.cit., gives further discussion.



"prison gate", which is nowhere else referred to. In 12:36-39 the designations of the "fountain gate", the "gate of Ephraim", the "old gate", the "fish gate", the "tower of Hananeel", and the "sheep gate" are all rendered accurately. It is hard indeed to account for this variety of treatment of the different gates and even the same gate in different contexts. There was apparently a tendency to be not too specific of geographical details. Cf. 12:29 above.<sup>11</sup>

12:40 וַיַּעֲזֹבָהּ / ⲓⲛⲟ This change makes the verb agree with the translator's interpretation of the route of the dedicatory procession. Note that the following preposition is therefore changed from ⲛⲓⲛ to ⲓⲛⲟ.

13:13 וַיַּעֲזֹבָהּ / ⲓⲛⲟ The odd usage of ⲓⲛⲟ was interpreted freely, but satisfactorily. The

LXX renders it word for word ἐν αὐτοῖς μερίζειν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς αὐτῶν.

13:18 וַיַּעֲזֹבָהּ / ⲓⲛⲟ Note the avoidance of the rhetorical question and cf. 4:2; 5:9; 13:26,27 for similar

treatment. It appears that the translator always avoided a rhetorical question even though it became necessary to make rather radical changes to do so. Other types of questions are correctly handled.

13:19 וַיַּעֲזֹבָהּ / ⲓⲛⲟ A free interpretation of a rare Hebrew word. The gates were kept open at a time when according to the law they were supposed to be shut.

13:21 וַיַּעֲזֹבָהּ / ⲓⲛⲟ A very free translation which recasts the expression completely. The freedom

(11) Burrows, op.cit., gives further discussion.



text before him, we may say that he gave the general sense usually pretty well. He did not hesitate, however, to change the forms of expression or the pronouns, prepositions, etc. to suit his purposes. The LXX seems to be much more literal in its renderings. On the other hand, the LXX omits much more - as has been mentioned, about 25 whole verses but also many phrases and major parts of other verses.

There does not seem to be any tendential exegesis discernible in the translation. Traces of Jewish or Christian feeling do not seem to appear. Important anthropomorphisms do not occur in Nehemiah, but the ears and eyes of God are mentioned in 1:6 and correctly translated (though the order is reversed). Also God's good hand is said to be upon Nehemiah in 2:9 etc. and this is literally rendered. These instances do not prove much, for the LXX also translates these passages literally. But there does not seem to be any extreme avoidance of anthropomorphism. Nor is Midrashic addition found. Several passages have been noted (9:8, 18, 21) where the translator definitely shows a good knowledge of the text of the rest of the Old Testament. More instances of this will be given under the "Mistakes of the Translator" in Chapter VI. There seem to be no discernible influences of the New Testament upon the translation although two instances have been alleged (pp. 57, 60) of a copyist's error (B. D. E.), resulting from New Testament influence.

In short, the translation is reasonably good, but very free and can be used by the textual critic only with great care and after due allowances are made for its approximations in translation.



## Chapter VI - Mistakes of the Translators.

After allowance is made for the natural alteration of the Hebrew idiom in translation, and for the freedom exercised by the translator, and also for changes in the Peshitta text through vicissitudes of transmission, there still remain to be studied many cases of divergence of the Hebrew and Syriac text. A few of these are probably due to errors which have crept into the Hebrew in the course of centuries. The great majority are doubtless errors made by the translator of the Peshitta of Nehemiah either because of ignorance, carelessness, or a faulty Hebrew text which he was using. In the present chapter as we study these remaining discrepancies we should approach a conclusion as to the value of the Peshitta to the textual critic of the Hebrew of Nehemiah. The mistakes will be listed in the order of their occurrence with brief discussion of the probable causes of error.

2:6 וְהָיָה יוֹשֵׁבָהּ אֶלְנָה / This curious mistake may well have been caused by a misinterpretation of , a rare word probably meaning "queen consort" taking it as from "ravish", a word considered obscene by the Massoretes (cf. B.D.E.).

is then a free paraphrase to avoid the difficulty.

2:12 אֶלְנָה / LXX Θεος, Vg. Deus. This is a minor discrepancy with no apparent reason as far as the Syriac





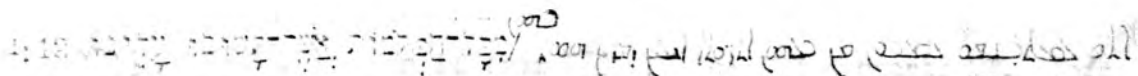





1:13 The LXX says *gouantolung* which probably comes from the meaning "kiss". It is not easy to see the reason for the Syriac. Elsewhere in the Peshitta the word is nearly always translated: *ܠܝ*. It is possible that an inner error occurred. Or we might consider a confusion of *ܡܫܚ* with the root *ܡܫܚ*, but this would not explain the Nun. It might be a pure guess of the translator, since the word is difficult in this context. We cannot well explain the variant.







- 4:2 A group of mistakes stem from the words: *ܗܝܥܝܢܝ ܠܗܝܡܢܝܢ ܗܝܥܝܢܝ* which is translated: *ܗܝܥܝܢܝ ܠܗܝܡܢܝܢ ܗܝܥܝܢܝ*. Apparently *ܗܝܥܝܢܝ* was wrongly taken in its usual meaning "leave". (Cf. 3:8 above). Then, as usual, the interrogative was removed, it being a rhetorical question (cf. p. 102). Finally *ܗܝܥܝܢܝ* was taken as if it were *ܗܝܥܝܢܝ*, reading *ܗܝܥܝܢܝ* with the following. The LXX omits this part of the verse entirely. The Vg. supports MT. It is possible that in this instance MT is wrong and the Aleph was dropped by mistake. However in view of the adjacent corruption of the Peshitta and its generally poor condition, it is far more likely that the translator erred.

- 4:4 *ܫܥܝܢܝ* / *ܫܥܝܢܝ* The LXX supports MT. Kittel-Kahle notes that to the Syriac also reads the first verb as *ܫܥܝܢܝ*, but many Mss read *ܫܥܝܢܝ*. There seems to be no sufficient reason to doubt the usual MT reading. The Hebrew Mss with which the Peshitta agrees were likely supplying a pronoun which is desired in this context, just as the Peshitta did. *ܫܥܝܢܝ* is translated *ܫܥܝܢܝ* as if it were *ܫܥܝܢܝ*. The Syriac here deals with a difficult word by a convenient metaphor.

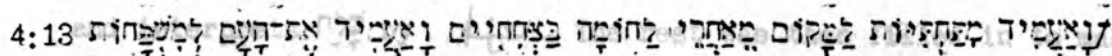


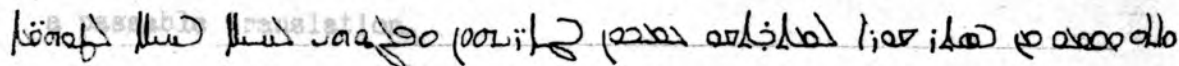
4:13 




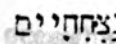
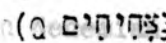


The first part of the Syriac here is probably a free addition in this confused context, but in the last part  seems clearly translating an unpointed text. The reading  is, moreover, to be read as . This is understandable and witnesses to an unpointed text being before the translator, but his rendering of

 by  is inexcusable. The presence of this preposition should have warned him against reading . The LXX omits  but renders  by . The whole verse is difficult in MT and something must be supplied. The J.P.S.


version has supplied "they will be upon us" which is similar in sense to what the Syriac supplies.

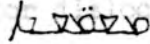
4:13 

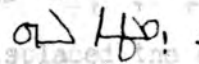



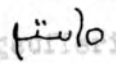
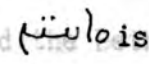
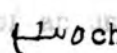
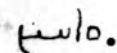
This verse is much confused. Eatten (in loc.) says "Here again we have a hopeless text." The LXX supports MT in general throughout the verse except that  reads the verb both times as if it were . The Syriac reads the same in the case of the first verb, but omits the second. Eatten (without reference to the Syriac) also reads the first verb as 3 masc. pl., but leaves the second in the first person. The Syriac, taking its cue from the 3rd. masc. pl. (real or supposed) of the verb :29; made the verse into a description of the enemy attack instead of Nehemiah's preparation for defense. Also the word  () is translated  as if it were . The Syriac here deals with a difficult word by a convenient metathesis.

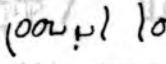


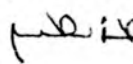
4:14 נָחֵם /  as if from נָחַם . The LXX supports MT. This only a difference of pointing and will naturally happen in translating an unpointed text. The reading נָחֵם is, moreover, more natural to the Peshitta interpretation of the preceding verse. Note that in this ambiguous form the Syriac and LXX disagree.

4:16 הַשָּׂרִים /  Apparently the translator read the form as if it were הַשָּׂרִים from שָׂרַר . Note, however, that the regular Hebrew word for the Levitical singers is the Polel form שָׂרִירִים .

4:23 אִישׁ שָׁלַח הַפָּיִם /  <sup>BNA</sup> omit the difficult phrase. The Syriac does not give any good evidence of a different Hebrew text. It apparently read הַפָּיִם for הַפָּיִם and interprets שָׁלַח by  . The rest was then filled in to make a passable translation.

5:2 אֶחָד /  The LXX supports MT. The reading  is quite natural after the mention of sons and daughters and it is probably a careless slip of the translators suggested by the very similar word "we". It would seem to be equally possible that it is an inner Syriac error with  changing to .

5:5 לֵאמֹר /  This is an error of translation. The Hebrew idiom is rather well established being used five times in the Bible. The LXX interprets it here correctly. In Gen.31:29; Dt. 28:32; and Pro.3:27 the Peshitta interprets it correctly. Finally, in Micah 2:1 the Peshitta treats the expression somewhat as in Nehemiah 5:5. The misunderstanding causes other trouble:

 is added. The suffix יֵ- is changed to (אֵ-











5:17 ܬܬܝܬܝܢ / ܬܬܝܬܝܢ The change in the pronoun was occasioned by the interpretation of ܬܬܝܬܝܢ as "gift". In the Syriac ܬܬܝܬܝܢ also means either "table" or "gift".

5:18 ܬܬܝܬܝܢ ܬܬܝܬܝܢ ܬܬܝܬܝܢ ܬܬܝܬܝܢ ܬܬܝܬܝܢ ܬܬܝܬܝܢ / ܬܬܝܬܝܢ ܬܬܝܬܝܢ ܬܬܝܬܝܢ ܬܬܝܬܝܢ ܬܬܝܬܝܢ ܬܬܝܬܝܢ The error probably arose from taking ܬܬܝܬܝܢ as ܬܬܝܬܝܢ. The rest is free interpretation, influenced by the exegesis of the previous verse which, in the Syriac, represents others a bringing supplies to Nehemiah.

6:2 ܬܬܝܬܝܢ ܬܬܝܬܝܢ ܬܬܝܬܝܢ ܬܬܝܬܝܢ ܬܬܝܬܝܢ ܬܬܝܬܝܢ / ܬܬܝܬܝܢ ܬܬܝܬܝܢ ܬܬܝܬܝܢ ܬܬܝܬܝܢ ܬܬܝܬܝܢ ܬܬܝܬܝܢ The first part of the translation probably is a free interpretation. To "meet together" and to "live together" are near enough to suit our translator. It is another question where he gets ܬܬܝܬܝܢ. Apparently the Beth was misread as the preposition Caph. ܬܬܝܬܝܢ could be pointed ܬܬܝܬܝܢ "a band of robbers", or ܬܬܝܬܝܢ "a wife's sister's husband". Probably the latter is intended in this context. But it is difficult to see how this was read from ܬܬܝܬܝܢ. The LXX supports MT.

6:3 ܬܬܝܬܝܢ / ܬܬܝܬܝܢ Apparently the translators read their unpointed text as ܬܬܝܬܝܢ. The LXX, like MT, reads the pronoun object ܬܬܝܬܝܢ (neuter to agree with the Greek antecedent).

6:12 ܬܬܝܬܝܢ / ܬܬܝܬܝܢ Probably this was read as ܬܬܝܬܝܢ.

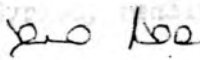
7:1 ܬܬܝܬܝܢ / ܬܬܝܬܝܢ This is freely interpreted as passive because the verbs before and after are passive. This necessitates a change in number also. Just before this word A wrongly adds ܬܬܝܬܝܢ perhaps as a kind of doublet. L agrees with MT.

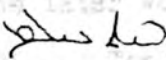
7:2 ܬܬܝܬܝܢ ܬܬܝܬܝܢ ܬܬܝܬܝܢ ܬܬܝܬܝܢ ܬܬܝܬܝܢ ܬܬܝܬܝܢ / ܬܬܝܬܝܢ ܬܬܝܬܝܢ ܬܬܝܬܝܢ ܬܬܝܬܝܢ ܬܬܝܬܝܢ ܬܬܝܬܝܢ This description

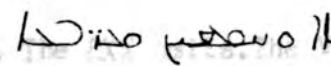


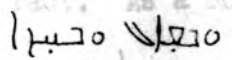
of a righteous man is practically taken over from Job 1:1 etc.

Cf. 5:14 above for another reference to a familiar Old Testament passage.

7:8 וְעַד הָם עֲשִׂים /  Apparently הָם was misread in an unpointed text as עֲשִׂים. The LXX follows MT.

7:34 בְּנֵי עֵילִם /  The two expressions are nearly equivalent. the Syriac translation was perhaps influenced by בְּנֵי-אֵל in vs.32.

7:13 שְׁכָנָה אַחַת אַרְבָּעִים וְחֲמִשָּׁה /  There is a metathesis in the number. GB omits the final "five", but G<sup>NA</sup> support MT. There are four other mistakes in numbers in the chapter. 7:15 has 644 for MT 648. 7:30 has 721 for MT 621. 7: 66 has 42,470 total for MT 42,360. One might think that in this case the Syriac total has been adjusted to give the total of the Syriac figures, but both totals are far off from the sum of the figures given. Finally 7:67 has 7,333 for MT 7,337. In all of these places the LXX agrees with MT except in details where the Syriac agrees with MT. All or some of these errors may be chargeable to Syriac copyists, but it would be hard to prove the translator innocent. The first and third mistakes could be well explained as mistakes occasioned by the use of figures or letters to write the numbers. The second, fourth, and fifth mistake could as easily be explained as occurring in a text with the numbers written out as words.

7:65 אֲוִלִּים וְתַשִּׁים /  The LXX has *parousia* omitting the second member of the pair. The Syriac free rendering is rather good, calling attention as it does to their use in learning the Divine will.



8:30, 31, 32 / ~~לֶחֶם~~ / ~~לֶחֶם~~ The LXX omits the unit of money. The Vg. uses "arachma". The Syriac translator confused the Greek coin with the Persian daric which was more familiar to him.

8:1 ~~וַיִּשְׁכְּנוּ~~ / ~~וַיִּשְׁכְּנוּ~~ The Syriac, reading from an unpointed text takes the verb as ~~וַיִּשְׁכְּנוּ~~. In this translation, they were wrong as is seen from the later word ~~וַיִּשְׁכְּנוּ~~ which the Syriac has to alter to ~~(וַיִּשְׁכְּנוּ)~~. The LXX follows the pointing of MT. L has a variant ~~וַיִּשְׁכְּנוּ~~.

8:5 ~~וַיִּשְׁכְּנוּ~~ / ~~וַיִּשְׁכְּנוּ~~ ~~וַיִּשְׁכְּנוּ~~ The LXX omits. The Vg. like the Syriac takes it as ~~וַיִּשְׁכְּנוּ~~.

8:11 ~~וַיִּשְׁכְּנוּ~~ / ~~וַיִּשְׁכְּנוּ~~ The interpretation differs only slightly from MT which makes "the joy of the Lord" be the subject of the clause.

8:16 Here in the series of different kinds of trees the equivalent of ~~וַיִּשְׁכְּנוּ~~, "myrtle", is ~~וַיִּשְׁכְּנוּ~~, "palm". Next in the series ~~וַיִּשְׁכְּנוּ~~, "palm", is translated ~~וַיִּשְׁכְּנוּ~~ "orange" or "citron". This is clearly a misunderstanding of ~~וַיִּשְׁכְּנוּ~~ and a transposition of the word for "palm".

9:4 ~~וַיִּשְׁכְּנוּ~~ / ~~וַיִּשְׁכְּנוּ~~ The LXX follows MT and the Syriac seems to be a free translation not witnessing to any misreading of the letters. Elsewhere, as in 3:15 ~~וַיִּשְׁכְּנוּ~~ is properly rendered "stairs" ~~וַיִּשְׁכְּנוּ~~, but the translator did not know of any such "stairs" as those here named. In struggling with the difficulty he supposed a meaning of "over officers" for ~~וַיִּשְׁכְּנוּ~~.

9:5 ~~וַיִּשְׁכְּנוּ~~ / ~~וַיִּשְׁכְּנוּ~~ The exhortations are recast into statements of fact. As a consequence, later ~~וַיִּשְׁכְּנוּ~~ becomes ~~(וַיִּשְׁכְּנוּ)~~ and ~~וַיִּשְׁכְּנוּ~~ is ~~וַיִּשְׁכְּנוּ~~.



9:19 אֲנִי הָיִיתִי / According to Kittel-Kahle, several Mss omit the conjunction which in fact poses a problem. The LXX and Vg. with the Syriac also omit it and possibly here MT is wrong.

9:28 אֲנִי הָיִיתִי / The LXX says: ἐν σικτηρμοῖς σου πολλοῖς. The fact that both the Peshitta and LXX take אֲנִי with הָיִיתִי need not mean that either read a different text, but only that both were struggling with the same difficulty. Note that the LXX omits אֲנִי entirely. The reading of these versions naturally would be influenced by the phrase אֲנִי הָיִיתִי in the previous verse.

9:35 אֲנִי הָיִיתִי // The LXX reads: καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν ἐκταλαῖς σου. The case rather like the one just above, except that here Kittel-Kahle notes 2 Mss and the Arabic version agreeing with the Greek and Syriac in the reading "thy". Still the MT has the lectio difficilior which is probably to be preferred. The reading "thy" comes from the next word אֲנִי. Note that the Peshitta adds the extra verb אֲנִי further to clarify and in this does not agree with the LXX.

10:9 אֲנִי / The LXX and Vg. also drop the Waw. Kittel-Kahle notes that many Mss lack it, and it does seem to be quite out of place. Quite likely, MT here is wrong.

10:29 אֲנִי / Active instead of passive due probably to the use of an unpointed text by the translator. The LXX takes it as passive.

is rendered rather well.



10:31 The Peshitta in this verse departs considerably from MT. The LXX agrees with MT throughout. It is not a case of textual variation, but of bold paraphrase. The Hebrew of the verse is as follows:

וְעַיִן הָאָדָם הַמְּבִיאִים אֶת־הַמִּקְחֹת וְכָל־שֹׂכֵר בַּיּוֹם הַזֶּה לְמַעַן  
 לֹא־יָקֹחַ מֵהֶם בַּשָּׂבַת וּבַיּוֹם קָדֹשׁ וְנֹשֵׂא אֶת־הַחֶמֶר הַמְּבִיעִית וְיִשָּׂא בָל־יָד:  
 סִיחַ חֶמֶר וְזָרָא וְשִׁלְשָׁן וְשִׁלְשָׁן וְשִׁלְשָׁן וְשִׁלְשָׁן וְשִׁלְשָׁן  
 וְשִׁלְשָׁן וְשִׁלְשָׁן וְשִׁלְשָׁן וְשִׁלְשָׁן וְשִׁלְשָׁן וְשִׁלְשָׁן  
 וְשִׁלְשָׁן וְשִׁלְשָׁן וְשִׁלְשָׁן וְשִׁלְשָׁן וְשִׁלְשָׁן וְשִׁלְשָׁן

The Syriac has expanded the Hebrew somewhat and we may well

wonder if the doublets presented here do not arise from two

Syriac text traditions interwoven. The first error is a

substitution of  $\text{ܐܬܝܬܗܢܐ}$  for  $\text{ܐܬܝܬܗܢܐ}$ . This may be a case of

freedom for the Syriac would be expected to repeat the later

$\text{ܐܬܝܬܗܢܐ}$  or its equivalent, for regularity's sake, after every

thing the people promised not to do. The next clause:

$\text{ܐܬܝܬܗܢܐ}$  had to be changed and expanded

because  $\text{ܐܬܝܬܗܢܐ}$  was read  $\text{ܐܬܝܬܗܢܐ}$ , "to hire". The next clause in the

Syriac  $\text{ܐܬܝܬܗܢܐ}$  may be a doublet

on  $\text{ܐܬܝܬܗܢܐ}$ , although it must be admitted that elsewhere this is

most often translated  $\text{ܐܬܝܬܗܢܐ}$ . In the Joseph story,  $\text{ܐܬܝܬܗܢܐ}$  is

used of the sacks carrying the grain. The last part is treated

rather well except that the two clauses are reversed. First

$\text{ܐܬܝܬܗܢܐ}$  is rendered  $\text{ܐܬܝܬܗܢܐ}$ ....

in words rather reminiscent of the words in Luke 11:4 which

reads:  $\text{ܐܬܝܬܗܢܐ}$  Finally  $\text{ܐܬܝܬܗܢܐ}$

is rendered rather well. Outside of

Hebrew where this word refers to a spot in a city it is



10:37 וְהָיָה לְכָל הָעָם / ܠܟܠܗܥܡ. Preceding this phrase,

the Syriac has properly used the same expression to translate  
וְהָיָה לְכָל הָעָם and here there is surely a contamination from  
that first occurrence. In fact the error may well have been  
made by a copyist. In 10:39 וְהָיָה לְכָל הָעָם is rendered  
ܠܟܠܗܥܡ. The LXX reads οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ λειτουργοὶ in  
an interpretation which agrees with the Syriac in the insertion  
of the conjunction, but differs in detail.

10:39 וְהָיָה לְכָל הָעָם / ܠܟܠܗܥܡ. Evidently the Pesnitta misread  
ܠܟܠܗܥܡ. The LXX supports MT.

11:17 יְהוּדָה / ܝܗܘܕܐ. The Syriac has quite naturally taken this  
unusual form of the Hiph. Impf. and translated it as if it  
were the national name. The pointing of MT is difficult and  
may not be right. The LXX omits except for G<sup>nc.a.mg.sup.</sup> which  
reads Ἰουδα. Perhaps it should be read as the name of an  
individual.

11:21 וְהָיָה יְהוּדָה וְיִשְׂרָאֵל וְיִשְׂרָאֵל. The Syriac omits  
much of the verse: ܝܗܘܕܐ ܝܨܪܐܝܝܠ ܝܨܪܐܝܝܠ.  
The translation ܝܗܘܕܐ ܝܨܪܐܝܝܠ is not surprising for  
it is thus translated in 10:29 also. In 7:46 it is translated  
ܝܗܘܕܐ (which may be an inner error for ܝܨܪܐܝܝܠ, cf. p.24).  
In 11:3 it is rendered ܝܗܘܕܐ, elsewhere in Nehemiah: ܝܗܘܕܐ.  
As to the remainder of the verse, we may compare Neh.3:26 which  
reads ܝܗܘܕܐ ܝܨܪܐܝܝܠ. This is translated accurately  
except that ܝܨܪܐܝܝܠ is rendered by metathesis ܝܗܘܕܐ. Outside of  
Nehemiah where this word refers to a spot in a city it is







company from the second and so here he omits the word לְמַעַל. Strangely, he reads לְמַעַל as if it were לְמַעַל although the word is correctly rendered in vss. 31 and 40. The rest of the translation seems to have arisen by taking לְמַעַל in the sense of לְמַעַל. The LXX omits the verse except for <sup>ac. a. mg. sup.</sup> which supports MT. Kittel-Kahle and most others consider לְמַעַל as an error for לְמַעַל. Note the לְמַעַל of vs. 31.

12:44 This verse is quite freely interpreted. The part concerned is:

וַיִּפְקְדוּ בַיּוֹם הַהוּא אָנָשִׁים עַל-הַנִּשְׁכּוֹת לְאֻצְרוֹת לְקִרְיֹת לְרָאשִׁית וְלַפְעֻשׁוֹת  
 לְכִנּוּם פָּתָם לְשֵׁי הָעָרִים : סֹמֶל חֶסֶד וְרֵן אֶחָד וְשֵׁשׁ חֶסֶד  
 וְאֶחָד חֶסֶד וְאֶחָד חֶסֶד וְאֶחָד חֶסֶד וְאֶחָד חֶסֶד

Apparently the words עַל-הַנִּשְׁכּוֹת לְאֻצְרוֹת and לְכִנּוּם פָּתָם were taken together to mean that the men concerned were designating

certain of the king's storehouses for the collection of the

offerings. The word אֻצָּר is not so interpreted in 13:12,

however. The two words לְקִרְיֹת לְרָאשִׁית were represented

by the one word חֶסֶד. This is natural for the first of

these words is rendered. חֶסֶד in 10:40 and 13:5; the latter

is so rendered in 10:38. Finally the לְשֵׁי is translated

as if it were לְשֵׁי. In this latter reading the Syriac agrees

with the LXX and Vg. Kittel-Kahle notes also several Mss

with this reading and it probably is correct.

13:22 The present Syriac text  
 12:46 וְשֵׁי-חֶסֶד / וְשֵׁי-חֶסֶד This is probably a free translation of a difficult phrase. The LXX translates literally.



13:15 וְהָיָה כִּי יֵרְדוּ / ܠܝܕܝܢܐ Probably the two Syriac words are an idiomatic translation of וְהָיָה כִּי יֵרְדוּ taking it to mean "travellers". The word ܠܝܕܝܢܐ would then have been passed over entirely. ܠܝܕܝܢܐ in the sense of "read" is elsewhere translated by ܕܝܢܐ. There is also a possibility that there is an inner error of ܠܝܕܝܢܐ for ܠܝܕܝܢܐ which means "threshing floor" and could be a translation of ܠܝܕܝܢܐ. It must be confessed, however, that elsewhere ܠܝܕܝܢܐ is never translated by ܠܝܕܝܢܐ. In Joel 4:13 it is ܠܝܕܝܢܐ; in Song of Songs 1:15 and Ps. 63:2 it is ܠܝܕܝܢܐ; elsewhere it is transliterated ܠܝܕܝܢܐ.

13:15 וְהָיָה כִּי יֵרְדוּ / ܠܝܕܝܢܐ Probably this is a careless translation in view of the use of ܠܝܕܝܢܐ elsewhere after ܠܝܕܝܢܐ. On the other hand, it may be a mistaken reading for ܠܝܕܝܢܐ. The LXX supports MT.

13:16 וְהָיָה כִּי יֵרְדוּ / ܠܝܕܝܢܐ The Syriac is much confused, reading: ܠܝܕܝܢܐ ܠܝܕܝܢܐ ܠܝܕܝܢܐ. The LXX also omits ܠܝܕܝܢܐ and we might think of a dittography in MT for ܠܝܕܝܢܐ of the preceding verse, but the LXX omits that also whereas the Peshitta includes it. Probably both the LXX and Syriac were translating freely. As to ܠܝܕܝܢܐ, the Syriac interprets the noun and participle as if they were two verbs, one in the Qal "buy", the other in the Piel "sell." Such a distinction in the use of ܠܝܕܝܢܐ is not found in Hebrew.

13:22 וְהָיָה כִּי יֵרְדוּ / ܠܝܕܝܢܐ The present Syriac text takes ܠܝܕܝܢܐ as ܠܝܕܝܢܐ which could easily be ascribed to the use of an unpunctuated text. The Syriac words for "gates" and rare Hebrew words or expressions. The majority are probably due to



"porters" have the same consonants and it is possible that the original Syriac reading agreed with MT, but that a later copyist inserted the conjunction.

13:25 וְאֵלֶּיךָ / מֵלֵךְ The translator was probably influenced in misreading his text by the previous word which he translated מֵלֵךְ. The LXX omits this word וְאֵלֶּיךָ.

13:27 וְלָכֵן הִנֵּשְׁבַע לְעַשֵׂה / מִלֵּךְ אֱלֹהִים מִלֵּךְ מִלֵּךְ The Hebrew is rather clearly misinterpreted. As usual, the rhetorical question having both a common usage and a rare usage in a different sense, is changed to an assertion. This gives an opportunity to take the 1st.Pl. Impf.Cal as a 3rd Masc.Sing. Pf. Niphal. The word מִלֵּךְ is then supplied by paraphrase to suit the new context. The LXX supports MT.

13:29 וְעַל-נְאֻלֵי הַקְּהֵנָה וּבְרִית הַקְּהֵנָה / מִלֵּךְ, מִלֵּךְ, מִלֵּךְ, מִלֵּךְ The reason for this strange rendering is obscure. The first מִלֵּךְ might possibly be an inner error for מִלֵּךְ which is elsewhere frequently used as a translation of נִשְׁבַּע "act as kinsman". (נִשְׁבַּע "defile" is translated מִלֵּךְ, מִלֵּךְ, מִלֵּךְ, and מִלֵּךְ). Perhaps more likely the second מִלֵּךְ is an inner error for מִלֵּךְ which is used to translate בְּרִית in Neh. 1:5. The first מִלֵּךְ would then be a mistaken repetition of the second one.

The mistakes of the translator listed above are numerous and in some cases rather serious. Many of them are due to the use of an unpointed text, many are due to the translator's unfamiliarity with rare Hebrew words or expressions. The majority are probably due to



"porters" have the same consonants and it is possible that the original Syriac reading agreed with MT, but that a later copyist inserted the conjunction.

13:25 וְאֵלֶּיךָ / אֵלֶּיךָ The translator was probably influenced in misreading his text by the previous word which he translated

אֵלֶּיךָ. The LXX omits this word אֵלֶּיךָ.

13:27 וְלִי הַנִּשְׁעָר / וְלִי הַנִּשְׁעָר The Hebrew is rather clearly misinterpreted. As usual, the rhetorical question is changed to an assertion. This gives an opportunity to take the 1st.Pl. Impf.Cal as a 3rd Masc.Sing. Pf. Niphal. The word

וְלִי is then supplied by paraphrase to suit the new context.

The LXX supports MT.

13:29 וְעַל-נְאֻלִי הַתְּהַנָּה וְבִרְיִת הַתְּהַנָּה / וְעַל-נְאֻלִי הַתְּהַנָּה, וְעַל-נְאֻלִי הַתְּהַנָּה

The reason for this strange rendering is obscure. The first

וְעַל might possibly be an inner error for וְעַל which is elsewhere frequently used as a translation of נְאֻל "act as kinsman". (נְאֻל "defile" is translated וְעַל, וְעַל, וְעַל, וְעַל, and וְעַל). Perhaps more likely the second וְעַל is an inner error for וְעַל which is used to translate בִּרְיִת in Neh. 1:5. The first וְעַל would then be a mistaken repetition of the second one.

The mistakes of the translator listed above are numerous and in some cases rather serious. Many of them are due to the use of an unpointed text, many are due to the translator's unfamiliarity with rare Hebrew words or expressions. The majority are probably due to



carelessness. The impression is gained from going over his work that the translator was working with an unpointed Hebrew manuscript whose consonants were almost identical with those of our MT, but that he was in rather a hurry to be through. He was satisfied with approximations or paraphrases and would not stop to investigate a Hebrew word of rare occurrence. One error which occurs several times and is typical of the translator's work concerns Hebrew words having both a common usage and a rare usage in a different sense. Our translator would almost always use the common meaning and alter the context accordingly.

appreciable LXX influence on the Peshitta. Much of the detailed evidence has been cited already in the previous pages of this work in connection with problems of particular verses. A summary of the material will now be sufficient. In the main the Peshitta followed avoiding the serious lacunae of the LXX. The question to be considered now is whether in detail the Peshitta shows traces of LXX influence.

Not much is to be learned on our subject from the class of Syriac variations from MT which result from the translator's use of normal Syriac idiom. These were discussed in Chapter V. Naturally some Hebrew idioms will be smoothed out in a similar way by both the Syriac and LXX, but such cases are without real significance. Both versions may agree in the rendering of the idiom, but in the remainder (1) See the summaries of opinion on p. 111.



## Chapter VII - The Relation of the Peshitta of Nehemiah to the Other Versions

The principal subject of this chapter is the relation of the Peshitta of Nehemiah to the Septuagint. There are practically no Hexaplaric fragments of the minor Greek versions, nor is there any Targum to Nehemiah. The Vulgate was clearly done later, so it need not concern us.

For the other books of the Bible the relation of the Peshitta to the LXX has been discussed in several studies <sup>1</sup> and various conclusions have been drawn. In Nehemiah there seems to be no appreciable LXX influence on the Peshitta. Much of the detailed evidence has been cited already in the previous pages of this work in connection with problems of particular verses. A summary of the material will now be sufficient. In the main the Peshitta follows MT avoiding the serious lacunae of the LXX. The question to be considered now is whether in detail the Peshitta shows traces of LXX influence.

Not much is to be learned on our subject from the class of Syriac variations from MT which result from the translator's use of normal Syriac idiom. These were discussed in Chapter V. Naturally some Hebrew idioms will be smoothed out in a similar way by both the Syriac and LXX, but such cases are without real significance. Both versions may agree in the rendering of the idiom, but in the remainder

(1) See the summaries of opinion on p. 7ff.



of the passage each version goes its own way. An example is 5:17 where the collective  $\text{אִנְיָ}$  is properly rendered  $\text{ܐܢܝܐ}$  in the Syriac and  $\alpha\nu\delta\rho\epsilon\sigma$  in the LXX. But in the immediate context the men referred to are called  $\text{בְּנֵי יְהוּדָה}$  /  $\text{ܒܢܝ ܝܗܘܕܐ}$  /  $\alpha\iota \text{Ιουδαίου}$ . There is no interdependence of the versions here.

Two typical examples may be given, briefly, of the relation of the free renderings cited in Chapter V and their treatment in the LXX. In 1:6 where the Syriac has reversed the Hebrew order placing "ears" after "eyes" because of the context, the LXX retains the Hebrew order. Again in Neh. 3, throughout the chapter the frequent phrase  $\text{וְעַל יָדָיו}$  or  $\text{וְעַל יָדָיו}$  is more literally rendered by the LXX:  $\epsilon\pi\iota \chi\epsilon\iota\rho\alpha\varsigma$  or a similar phrase, instead of the Syriac:  $\text{ܠܡܝܢ ܕܝܕܐ}$ . There seem to be no cases where the Syriac free renderings are influenced by the LXX.

The same is true of conscious additions to and omissions from the text. A typical example is 3:25  $\text{וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁׁבְּעוּ אֶת הָאֶרֶץ$  which is rendered literally by the LXX  $\circ \pi\alpha\rho\gamma\alpha\sigma\circ \epsilon\chi\epsilon\chi\epsilon\omega\nu$  but has an addition in the Peshitta:  $\text{ܘܥܠܝܗܘܢ ܕܡܪܝܩܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܩܬܐ}$ . Again in 7:61 the mention of the cities from which the returning captives came:  $\text{וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁׁבְּעוּ אֶת הָאֶרֶץ$  and the two versions preserve the correct text. They will be listed is rendered accurately by the LXX  $\alpha\pi\omicron \theta\epsilon\lambda\mu\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\theta \text{ Αργα}$  ( $\theta\epsilon\lambda\alpha\rho\sigma\alpha$  -A)  $\chi\alpha\rho\upsilon\beta$ . with other such instances in the next chapter.

The Peshitta, however, inserts Lamedhs thus changing the sense considerably:  $\text{ܘܥܠܝܗܘܢ ܕܡܪܝܩܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܩܬܐ}$ .

In section III. C of Chapter V where there were listed above conclusion. Among variations of the Syriac there listed only conscious variations from the text, introduced by the translators of eight show agreement with the LXX against MT and in some of these the Peshitta for smoothness, etc., a considerable amount of comparison LXX text and witness is uncertain. In the large majority of cases -





with the LXX has already been given. In the great majority of cases the LXX follows MT against the Peshitta. In the few cases where the Peshitta and LXX agree in details, the Peshitta is still clearly independent. For instance, in 4:16, MT has a difficult expression: וְהָיָה בְּיָמֵינוּ וְהָיָה בְּיָמֵינוּ וְהָיָה בְּיָמֵינוּ וְהָיָה בְּיָמֵינוּ. The Syriac in simple smoothing out of a difficulty removes the conjunction from the first of the series of four weapons and places it on the second member of the series. A further interesting point of evidence is given by a few passages where the LXX agrees with the Hebrew vocalization, but the Peshitta does not though its reading is based on the same Hebrew consonants. A clear example is 4:14 וְהָיָה בְּיָמֵינוּ, LXX αὐτὸς αὐτὸς, but the Peshitta reads αὐτὸς αὐτὸς as if from וְהָיָה. Again 5:1 וְהָיָה בְּיָמֵינוּ, LXX αὐτὸς αὐτὸς of MT, but at least the Peshitta is quite independent of the LXX. This is apparently true in every such instance.

To conclude, there is no evidence whatever that the Syriac Scarcely anything need be added to the material presented in Chapter IV on Names. There, the agreements of the LXX and Syriac particular contacts. On the other hand, such positive evidence points against MT were always noted and discussed. But there are only two or three clear cases and these strengthen the impression of independence of the two versions. They probably are instances where MT is wrong to allow incidental reminiscences to creep in. If any isolated LXX and the two versions preserve the correct text. They will be listed with other such instances in the next chapter.

The instances listed in Chapter VI as mistakes of the Syriac translator furnish further interesting and positive evidence for the above conclusion. Among variations of the Syriac there listed, only eight show agreement with the LXX against MT and in some of these the LXX text and witness is uncertain. In the large majority of cases -



over 35 - the LXX agrees with MT against the Peshitta. In several more cases the LXX omits the phrase concerned. The eight significant cases have already been discussed and only the references will be given here: 2:16; 4:13; 5:16; 9:19, 28, 35; 12:31, 44. Study of these passages show that in some cases the LXX and Peshitta agree in preserving the correct text and that in any case the agreements of these versions do not imply interdependence.

A further interesting point of evidence is given by a few passages where the LXX agrees with the Hebrew vocalization, but the Peshitta does not though its reading is based on the same Hebrew consonants. A clear example is 4:14 נָחַל, LXX καὶ εἶδον, but the Peshitta reads  as if from נָחַל. Again 8:1 נִשְׁכָּח, LXX καὶ ἐκαθίσαν, but the Syriac reads  as if from נִשְׁכָּח.

To conclude, there is no evidence whatever that the Syriac of Nehemiah was influenced by the LXX either in general style or in particular contacts. On the other hand, much positive evidence points to the conclusion that it was quite independent of it. The Syriac translator hardly seems to have been familiar enough with the LXX to allow incidental reminiscences to creep in. If any isolated LXX influence might yet be found it would be suspect of having entered through copyists who knew the Syro-Hexaplar or who were thinking of some Septuagintal quotation in the New Testament.

With regard to the minor Greek versions, there are only five passages that can be gleaned from Field's Hexapla for our consideration. In four of these a version is cited as Ἀλλοῦ; in a fifth a passage is



given as under the asterisk. No dependence of the Peshitta is seen in these few scattered instances. The evidence may be tabulated:

In two instances the Peshitta, MT and minor Greek version agree:

7:72 אֶלְפִים -- וְאֶשֶׁר נָתַן / καὶ ἔδωκαν (alia καὶ αὐτοὶ δέδωκασιν) —

διακοσias /

9:17 וְלִיחֻד / ἄλλος ἰσχυρῶν. ἄλλος ἀφτεισ /

In two instances the Greek goes with MT against the Peshitta:

3:6 הִשְׁנָה / ἄλλος τὴν παλαιὰς /

12:42 וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ / ἄλλος ἐπευφημησαν /

In the last instance all three witnesses disagree:

7:65 וְלִיחֻד / ἄλλος τὴν παλαιὰς /

Theoretically, the way to use the Peshitta as a textual witness is to combine its evidence with that of the other versions. It cannot be too greatly emphasized that care must be used in inferring a Hebrew original from the Peshitta — or any other version. We must be sure that the reading of the version has not suffered in transmission and that it is not simply due to a vagary of the translator. After these allowances are made, we may say that usually in Nehemiah the witness of the Vulgate, the Peshitta, and MT agree. Frequently the LXX is against all these three witnesses and then we have an early

(1) op.cit. p.43

(2) via.sop. p.7.



## Chapter VIII - The Witness of the Peshitta to the Original Hebrew Text

There should be noted a word of caution suggested by Montgomery in his review of Hawley's book on Ezra.<sup>1</sup> He remarks that if the Syriac be indeed an independent witness it "becomes of prime importance for the text of the Hebrew, at the age when S was translated (this caution should be observed!)." If the arguments of Burkitt be admitted, the Peshitta was translated before the end of the 2nd century. At least Nehemiah was translated before the 4th century, having been known to Aphraates.<sup>2</sup> Therefore we have an independent witness to MT in the form which it held perhaps as early as the 2nd century. In Nehemiah this fact is slightly more significant than in other books for there is no Targum to Nehemiah and the minor Greek versions are practically lacking.

Theoretically, the way to use the Peshitta as a textual witness is to combine its evidence with that of the other versions. It cannot be too greatly emphasized that care must be used in inferring a Hebrew original from the Peshitta - or any other version. We must be sure that the reading of the version has not suffered in transmission and that it is not simply due to a vagary of the translator. After these allowances are made, we may say that usually in Nehemiah the witness of the Vulgate, the Peshitta, and MT agree. Frequently the LXX is against all these three witnesses and then we have an early

(1) op.cit. p.432.

(2) vid.sup. p.7.



reading to balance against a later reading which is testified to by three late witnesses. Intrinsic evidence then should decide the true original reading. If, however, the Peshitta agrees with the LXX against MT, the strength of the early reading of the LXX would seem to be considerably increased. Because we would have a second check on the reading of the original Hebrew inferred from the Greek, and also of the Peshitta to the variations of Qere and Kethibb should be studied. that reading would apparently have persisted till late times. Now in a number of such variations there is no difference in meaning and because of the inherent excellency of MT and the care with which it therefore it can not be decided whether a translation favors one or was transmitted, especially after it was standardized about 70 A.D., the other reading. The rest of the Qere - Kethibb variations of this situation occurs very rarely. A third possibility, namely of Qere and Kethibb are given herewith with the Peshitta readings: the agreement of the LXX and MT against the Peshitta would be theoretically impossible, because this would mean that a very early reading witnessed to by the LXX was changed to a later reading witnessed to by the Peshitta then was changed back again to the early reading which persists in MT. Theoretically, if the Peshitta goes against both the LXX and MT it is because of some vagary of the Peshitta and the witness should be discounted. However, if the LXX witness is divided or questionable, the Peshitta may help to indicate a true early reading.

Of course the above discussion applies to the consonantal text only, for the LXX and Peshitta may agree in the reading of the Hebrew consonants and differ in the vowels they read with the consonants. Such an apparent disagreement which is really an agreement on the Hebrew consonants would be cogent testimony. We may conclude that the Peshitta is of value as a textual witness only where the LXX already



differs from MT. It may be of limited value where the LXX evidence is lacking or confused. Positively, the Pesnitta witnesses to the correctness of the view that MT was standardized at an early date - the end of the first century - and kept practically inviolate thereafter.

Before the listing of alleged mistakes in MT, the relation of the Peshitta to the variations of Qere and Kethibh should be studied. In a number of such variations there is no difference in meaning and therefore it can not be decided whether a translation favors one or the other reading. The rest of the Qere - Kethibh variations of Nehemiah are given herewith with the Peshitta readings:

- a) 3:15 ויעמיד / מַעֲמִיד  
b) 3:20 זבי / זב  
c) 3:30 אחרי / אחרי (In the context Q is correct)  
d) 3:31 With regard to "instances where the Pesnitta may be of use"  
e) 5:7 נשאים / נָשִׁים  
f) 5:9 ויאמר / ויאמר  
g) 7:3 " " "  
h) 7:43 להודוה / לְהוֹדֶיהּ  
i) 7:52 נפוששים / נְפוּשָׁשִׁים  
j) 9:17 וחחד / חחד Context confused, but conjunction omitted.  
k) 10:20 נובו / נוֹבוּ  
l) 12:9 ענו / עָנִי  
m) 12:14 מלובי / מְלוּבֵי  
n) 12:16 עדא / עֲדָא



o) 12:33 K אֶלֶּי / אֶלֶּי Cf. p. 120

p) 12:46 K אֶלֶּי / אֶלֶּי

q) 13:23 K אֶלֶּי / אֶלֶּי

r) 13:23 K אֶלֶּי / אֶלֶּי

In the above list of variants it seems that the Peshitta goes with the Cere nine times and with the Kethibh seven times. Perhaps (k) and (o) are indeterminate and should not be counted. Many of the above cases are names and the differences between the two forms are slight. Perhaps there is not enough material in the list to indicate a definite conclusion. We may say, however, that the translator does not show a uniform preference for either the Cere or Kethibh.

With regard to instances where the Peshitta may be of use in correcting MT, the following possible instances have been mentioned in the preceding pages and may here be gathered together with the references to the discussions that have been given. As can be seen, there are very few cases where we can with any certainty emend MT on the basis of the Peshitta.


a) 2:12 אֶלֶּי / אֶלֶּי Cf. p.105 The LXX and Vg. agree with the Peshitta and perhaps MT has lost the final Mem.

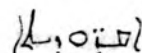
b) 3:8 אֶלֶּי / אֶלֶּי Cf. p.42. The LXX evidence is not complete, but perhaps we should read with many Hebrew Mss. אֶלֶּי.

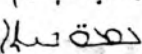
c) 3:14 אֶלֶּי / אֶלֶּי Cf. p.107. Perhaps we should read אֶלֶּי.



o) 12:33 K תַּחַת Q תַּחַת /  Cf. p. 120


p) 12:46 K שָׁנָה Q שָׁנָה / 


q) 13:23 K אֲשֶׁר־לָּהֶם Q אֲשֶׁר־לָּהֶם / 


r) 13:23 K עֲלֵיהֶם Q עֲלֵיהֶם / 

In the above list of variants it seems that the Peshitta goes with the Cere nine times and with the Kethibh seven times. Perhaps (k) and (o) are indeterminate and should not be counted. Many of the above cases are names and the differences between the two forms are slight. Perhaps there is not enough material in the list to indicate a definite conclusion. We may say, however, that the translator does not show a uniform preference for either the Cere or Kethibh.

With regard to instances where the Peshitta may be of use in correcting MT, the following possible instances have been mentioned in the preceding pages and may here be gathered together with the references to the discussions that have been given. As can be seen, there are very few cases where we can with any certainty emend MT on the basis of the Peshitta.

a) 2:12 אֱלֹהֵי /  Cf. p.105 The LXX and Vg. agree with the Peshitta and perhaps MT has lost the final Mem. true reading is אֱלֹהִים.

b) 3:8 חֲרָחִיָּה /  Cf. p.42. The LXX evidence is not complete, but perhaps we should read with many Hebrew Mss. חֲרָחִיָּה.

c) 3:14 תִּשְׁפֹּחַ /  Cf. p.107. Perhaps we should read תִּשְׁפֹּחַ.



d) 3:18 נָשִׁים / נָשִׁים Cf. p. 42 (1) Here MT is rather clearly wrong. The correct reading is נָשִׁים.

e) 4:13 וְאַחֲרָיו / וְאַחֲרָיו Cf. p.109. The situation is uncertain as the LXX evidence is divided and the Syriac context corrupt.

f) 5:16 שְׂכָנָיו / שְׂכָנָיו Cf. p.112. The situation is uncertain. All the versions translate as a singular, but this may be only interpretative.

g) 9:19 וְאַחֲרָיו / וְאַחֲרָיו Cf. p.116. Probably MT is wrong here and the conjunction should be omitted.

h) 12:14 שְׂכָנָיו / שְׂכָנָיו Cf. p.53f. Also 9:4 and 5 may have erred in this name. Probably it should be read with Caph at least in 12:14.

i) 12:31 וְאַחֲרָיו / וְאַחֲרָיו Cf. p.119. Probably MT is in error.

j) 12:44 לְשָׂרֵי / לְשָׂרֵי Cf. p. 120. The true reading is doubtless לְשָׂרֵי.

In Nehemiah there thus seem to be about eight instances where we can say with some degree of certainty that the Peshitta

has preserved the correct form or a nearly correct form by which MT can be corrected. (3)

(3) Three more instances may be of interest where it seems that MT is in error, although the Peshitta joins in the mistake. Others of course are doubtless, but these were encountered in the Peshitta study:

a) 9:17 שָׂרֵי / שָׂרֵי Cf. p.100. Probably the true reading is שָׂרֵי.

b) 12:15 שָׂרֵי / שָׂרֵי Cf. p.56. There has been a mistake by metathesis either here or in the same name of 12:3 שָׂרֵי, but the error antedates our witnesses.



(note (3) continued)

c) 7:68 is omitted in the Syriac, but it appears in Ezr. 2:66 thus:

וְשִׁירָיוּתָם מֵאַחַד כֹּהֲנֵי יְהוָה אֲרָבָעִים וְחָמֵשֶׁת  
וְשִׁירָיוּתָם מֵאַחַד כֹּהֲנֵי יְהוָה אֲרָבָעִים וְחָמֵשֶׁת

Kittel-Kahle notes that several manuscripts of the Hebrew have this portion, but that it is lacking in the best texts. <sup>GEN</sup> is defective here, but <sup>GA</sup> has the portion as it is in Ezr. 2:66. We note that the Peshitta follows the major Mss of the Hebrew and thus agrees with them in the omission. But it appears that the omission is an error.

Comparison with Ezr. 2:66 shows that the Hebrew of Neh. 7:68 has dropped seven words rather clearly by homoioteleuton. The complete section is: וְשִׁירָיוּתָם מֵאַחַד כֹּהֲנֵי יְהוָה אֲרָבָעִים וְחָמֵשֶׁת From כֹּהֲנֵי יְהוָה to the second occurrence of אֲרָבָעִים is omitted in Nehemiah.

It seems clear that the words once stood in Nehemiah's text, because there the number of singers now reads 245, whereas there were only 200 according to the parallel. The 45 is the remnant of the enumeration of the horses. It is an ancient error in MT such as we have met

repeatedly in the Syriac of Nehemiah.



(note (3) continued)

c) 7:68 is omitted in the Syriac, but it appears in Ezer. 2:66 thus:

וְשָׂרָיָה מִלְּבָנָיִם וְשָׂרָיָה מִלְּבָנָיִם וְשָׂרָיָה מִלְּבָנָיִם  
וְשָׂרָיָה מִלְּבָנָיִם וְשָׂרָיָה מִלְּבָנָיִם וְשָׂרָיָה מִלְּבָנָיִם

Kittel-Kahle notes that several manuscripts of the Hebrew have this portion, but that it is lacking in the best texts.  $G^{BN}$  is defective here, but  $G^A$  has the portion as it is in Ezer. 2:66. We note that the Peshitta follows the major Mss of the Hebrew and thus agrees with them in the omission. But it appears that the omission is an error.

Comparison with Ezer. 2:66 shows that the Hebrew of Neh. 7:68 has dropped seven words rather clearly by homoioteleuton. The complete section is: וְשָׂרָיָה מִלְּבָנָיִם; כֹּהֲנֵיהֶם שְׁבַע יָמֹת שְׁלֹשִׁים וְשָׁשׁ פְּדִיָּהִם חֲמֵסִים אַרְבָּעִים וְחֲמֵסָה From כֹּהֲנֵיהֶם to the second occurrence of חֲמֵסִים is omitted in Nehemiah.

It seems clear that the words once stood in Nehemiah's text, because there the number of singers now reads 245, whereas there were only 200 according to the parallel. The 45 is the remnant of the enumeration of the horses. It is an ancient error in MT such as we have met repeatedly in the Syriac of Nehemiah.



#### Chapter IV - Conclusion

By way of a conclusion to the discussion presented in the preceding chapters, we may now briefly summarize the character, state of the text, and textual critical value of the Peshitta of Nehemiah. As to who did the translation, we may not be able to come to definite conclusions as to whether he was Jewish or Christian, but some general indications may be seen that he was the latter. Two places were noted where probably the influence of Christian copyists is evident.

The translation of Nehemiah is certainly not slavishly literal. It seems, though, that there was an attempt to render the Hebrew text with fair accuracy, into the normal Syriac idiom. The frequent departures of a petty nature may be explained as due to the natural desire for a smoother style which, as Pinkerton observes, is more characteristic of the Syriac than of Hebrew. Though this tendency toward freedom may be distressing to the student who is anxious to find another old witness for MT, it was naturally a relief to the general lay reader for whom the Peshitta was evidently intended. The same tendency toward freedom may be observed in the Revised Standard Version of the New Testament of 1946 which is meant to be not as literal a version as were the revisions of 1881 and 1901.<sup>3</sup>

for Nehemiah, but the evidence is not positive. One passage was

(1) Cf. the discussion of Eliezer on p.57 and of Samaria on p.60.

(2) op. cit. p.14.

(3) Weigle in Introduction to the Revised Standard Version of the New Testament p.53 ff. gives illustrations of literalness and freedom in the translations of 1611, 1901, and 1946. He says "The major defect of the English Revised Version and of its variant, the American Standard Version, is that these are literal, word-for-word translations, which follow the order of the Greek words wherever possible, rather than the order which is natural to English." p.53.



116

It seems to be true, however, that the translator of Nehemiah can be charged with much more freedom than these English Versions indulged in. The Syriac is also freer than the LXX. The impression is gained that the translator would follow a dozen or so verses with fair accuracy and then come to one or two which would be somewhat ill treated. Thus Nehemiah 1:1 to 2:3 is a good translation, fairly close to the Hebrew, but in 2:4-6 are found several cases of freedom and of mistake. Again 3:1-18 follows MT with relatively slight deviations, but 3:19 and 20 badly confuse some unusual words. Examples of this sort can be multiplied by referring to the preceding pages, especially Chapter VI "Mistakes of the Translator". It would seem to indicate that the aim of the translator was to produce a good idiomatic translation from MT, but either his knowledge of Hebrew was poor, or his manuscript was blurred and defective in spots. Probably both circumstances were present, but more especially the former, as these verses where considerable confusion occurs usually contain unfamiliar Hebrew words or expressions. Apparently the translator was not just working freely, but he does not seem to have had the information, linguistic and historical, necessary to cope with a difficult passage. His intentions were good, but his equipment was poor! From this character of the translation we are led to think more readily of a Christian than of a Jewish translator for Nehemiah, but the evidence is not positive. One passage was noted which possibly betrays Christian authorship.<sup>4</sup>

(4) Cf. p. 117, last passage discussed.

(5) *Neue Protestantische Bibelübersetzung* (3rd ed.) 117, 118.  
(6) vii, esp. p. 21.



It may be emphasized that Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles were not clearly in the Edessene canon<sup>5</sup> and therefore our conclusion as to the style of the translation would be less expected to agree with the rest of the Peshitta than if we were working with a book like Isaiah. Again Nehemiah, being an unimportant book and apparently not greatly used, we may expect that the translation was done less carefully than was true for other books. It does seem, however, that the major faults of the Peshitta of this book are due not only to carelessness, but also to unfamiliarity with the Hebrew language, customs, and history.

Finally As to the present state of the text, the statistics on the personal names speak for themselves. One fourth of the names have suffered some change and a good half of these variations seem to be due to copyists' errors. Though the narrative material has naturally been better preserved than the personal names, there are serious faults in it too. It was calculated that the prepositions and conjunction are poorly treated in about 10 or 15 per cent of the cases.<sup>6</sup> Probably more of such errors are the result of careless copying than can now be proved. As far as the errors of transmission are concerned, Codex A, though better than L, is still far from perfect. It would seem that a considerable history of manuscript copying lay back of the sixth century Codex A which we are following. It would be a welcome find indeed if some less corrupted text, possibly of consistent Nestorian affinity should yet be discovered in some

-----

(5) Nestle Protestantische Realencyclopädie (3rd ed.) III, 170.

(6) *vid. sup.* p. 81.



Eastern monastery. It is not impossible. Such further witness can not be counted upon, however, and at present we must simply confess that our text has been much corrupted and must make due allowances when citing its witness. The text in Codex A does not seem to be appreciably contaminated by later revision on the basis of the LXX or MT. Such error in A as can be suspected as due to copyists is apparently the result of normal mistakes of the eye, ear, pen, etc. In Nehemiah, the Syriac which we possess is, though corrupt, an independent witness to the original Hebrew of the early years of our era.

Finally as to the value of the Peshitta of Nehemiah in criticism of the Hebrew text, we may confess that its value is not too great. A few cases were listed in Chapter VIII where it is probable that the Peshitta is of use in restoring the true Hebrew reading, but such cases are few. It may be remembered, however, that it is an office of textual criticism to indicate the correctness of a text as well as to remove the errors where possible. From this viewpoint, we should say that the net result of our study is to validate our Massoretic Text, as far as it is possible to do so by the use of the poor translation at our disposal.

- - - - -



## Index and Appendices

A Syriac-Hebrew index, referred to in the body of the thesis, for the Book of Nehemia has been completely prepared on file cards. These cards have been filed according to the variants of the Syriac from the Hebrew and thus have been of great use in the preparation of the thesis. They will now be filed alphabetically and the references copied in manuscript form suitable to attach to the thesis when it is published.

A collation of Lee with Codex Ambrosianus has also been made and entered on the margin of the author's copy of Lee's edition where it has been constantly used in the work. This too will be copied in manuscript form together with the two pages of the collations by Thorndike to be appended to the published thesis.